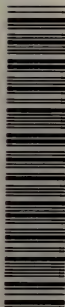


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The Murder OF AMY ROBSART

A Brief
for the Prosecution.

BY WALTER RYE.



LONDON: ELLIOT STOCK.
NORWICH: A. H. GOOSE AND CO., RAMPANT HORSE STREET.
1885.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE wave of whitewash which has, of late years, swept over English history, and left so many important persons clean and respectable, early reached Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. If, in trying to scrape it off, an independent observer comes to the conclusion that the earlier and thicker coat which, from her own times, has made the "Virgin Queen" so shining a figure in English history, covers a very paltry woman, made up of meanness, caprice, and lechery, it may be as well for him to print his reasons for so thinking and to refer to his authorities.

This is what I now propose to do, and if the following pages, besides containing a considerable amount of hitherto unprinted matter, reprints much that others have said before, I trust the repetition may be excused, if, as I trust, it results in the collection for the first time of all the direct and indirect evidence on the question.

The cumulative proof is, I think, strong on many points, and it is some relief to find that there is no great reason to think that Elizabeth was anything more than an accessory after the fact of Amy's murder—the tragedy round which these pages centre.

It may be said that the whole thing is too absurd—

too foul—too improbable. But we must remember that Elizabeth's cousin, Katherine Howard, while almost a child, had carried on a low intrigue with Mannock of Horsham, a few miles only from Blickling, Anne Boleyn's father's house. One must be indeed hard to be convinced, too, if one ignores *all* of Mary of Scots' amours, while as to the general tone of immorality of the "Virgin" Queen's court, what can be more marked evidence than the anecdote of how Sir F. Knollys walked about with only his shirt on, reading a bawdy book to her "maids" of honour? who, by the way, must have often sat out the very broad allusions in Shakespeare.

CHAPTER I.

What do we know of Amy and of the Facts of the Murder?

It is hard to have to divest the whole subject of everything sentimental. Amy¹ may have been plain or pretty,² dark or fair, but no one will now ever know which, though her heavy milliners' bills seem to prove her as vain as most women are. All we know for certain is, that in 1550 her father, Sir John Robsart, who had probably come across Dudley through having had a joint grant with him of the stewardship of Rising Castle, married her to him publicly at

¹ Froude, throughout, calls her Anne; but the spelling is clearly Amie.

² Dr. Jessopp, in his *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 19, calls her the "beautiful Amy Robsart;" but I do not think he has any grounds for this, nor for his conjecture that Leicester met her first when he stayed the night at her father's house, when *en route* with his father to suppress Kett's rebellion.

the King's court at Sheen in Surrey,³ she being then about eighteen years old.

Froude, led away, like Dr. Jessopp, by the temptation of importing some romance into a story which closed so pitifully, says it was a love match; but there is not the faintest proof of this, and the fact that she was the better off of the pair makes it look as though he married her for her money.

One thing is sure, that when Leicester was sent to the Tower in July, 1553, for complicity in the Lynn rebellion, she stuck to her husband, looked after his affairs, and got leave to visit him.⁴

In 1556 she and her husband had a restitution of the manor of Hemesby in Norfolk, and of other lands in Norfolk and Suffolk.⁵

The evidence adduced by Canon Jackson (*Nineteenth Century*, March, 1882, pp. 422-3) amply proves that she was not living in retirement—that she journeyed about from Christ Church to Camberwell—into Suffolk, and so on, and that she was well and even luxuriously dressed.

Her husband visited her “sundry (?) times” at Mr. Hyde's, at Denchworth near Abingdon, in 1558. So we must dismiss from our minds the idea that she was ever a prisoner.

In April, 1559, we find the “Documents relating to the reign of Elizabeth preserved in the Archives of the Simancas”⁶ saying:—

“But at this time my Lord Robert stood so high in the favour and confidence of the Queen that it was publicly bruited about that his wife was sick, and that Elizabeth only awaited her death to marry her husband.”

³ *Edward VI.'s Diary* (Cam. Soc.)

⁴ Privy Council Records, 22nd Aug., 1553; *Burleigh State Papers*, fo. 1740.
10th Sept.,

⁵ *Originalia*, first part, 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary, rot. 18.

⁶ By Gonzalez, London, 1865, p. 58.

A little later, on 7th September, 1559, Lady Sidney (Dudley's sister) is said to have told De Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador, that a plot had been discovered to murder the Queen and Dudley at a banquet to be given at Lord Arundel's; and later on (15th November) the Duke of Norfolk is reported to have said that "Lord Robert shall never die in his bed unless he gives over his preposterous pretensions."⁷

In January, 1560, we know that Amy was resident away from the court, and we find De Quadra⁸ writing home:—

"If there be any other who knows the Queen's purpose it is my Lord Robert, in whom it is easy to recognize the King that is to be; and either I am deceived and know nothing of the English people, or they will do something to set this crooked business straight. There is not a man who does not cry out on him and her with indignation . . . She will marry none but the favoured Robert."

On the 7th March De Quadra writes again: ⁹—

"I have just been with the Queen. She has treated me like a dog. The youth must have been complaining to her of a message which I sent him 3 days ago . . . Lord Robert is the worst young fellow I ever encountered. He is heartless, spiritless, treacherous, and false. There is not a man in England who does not cry out upon him as the Queen's ruin."

On the 27th March, again: ¹—

"Things are in a strange state . . . Lord Robert says that if he lives a year he will be in another position from that which he at present holds. Every day he presumes more and more, and it is now said that he means to divorce his wife."

That the names of the Queen and Dudley were closely linked together about this time is shown by the fact that on the 29th April Montague and Chamberlain write from Madrid that the Emperor's minister had given them

⁷ Froude, vi. p. 272. ⁸ *Ib.*, vi. p. 310. ⁹ *Ib.*, p. 334.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 340.

warning that there was a conspiracy on foot to murder Elizabeth and Dudley.²

On the 13th August, 1560, Anne Dowe of Brentford is sent to prison for openly asserting that the Queen had had a child by Dudley.³

On the 8th September Amy dies—whether by fair or foul means—at Cumnor by Oxford.

On the 11th September Cecil (who had already written to Randolph on the 27th August that he was thinking of retiring) wrote him again, as Froude points out,⁴ with some information of an extremely agitating kind. To his letter Randolph replied :—

“The first word that I read of your letter of the 11th⁵ of this present, conferring it with such bruits and slanderous reports as have been maliciously reported by the French and their faction, so passioned my heart that no grief that I ever felt was like to it.”

On the same day that Cecil wrote (11th September) De Quadra again wrote home. His letter is printed at length by Froude,⁶ and is to the effect that on the 3rd September the Queen had told him she had made up her mind to marry the Archduke, but that she had just now told him that it could not be. He goes on to say that Cecil, who was in disgrace (this accords with Cecil's own letter of 27th August to Randolph, talking of resigning) had told him that—

“He perceived the most manifest ruin impending over the Queen through her intimacy with Lord Robert. The Lord Robert had made himself master of the business of the State, and of the person of the Queen . . . Of Lord Robert, he said twice he would be better in Paradise than here.

² Spanish MS., Rolls House.

³ Dom. S. P. xiii. 21.

⁴ Froude, vi. p. 416.

⁵ Froude points out that Amy's death was generally known in London on that day.

⁶ Froude, p. 417.

“ Last of all he said that they were thinking of destroying Lord Robert’s wife. They had given out that she was ill ; but she was not ill at all : she was very well, and taking care not to be poisoned.”⁷

Of course, as Froude puts it most forcibly, “It seems very unlikely that Cecil, if possessed of such deadly secrets, should have chosen the Spanish Ambassador as the depository of them.” Yet, on the other hand, it is more unlikely still, to my mind, that an ambassador should have invented the whole interview, and attempted, for no purpose, to gull his principal. We know that six months before he had written, reporting Dudley’s boast that he would be in another position within a year, and relating the rumour that the wife was to be divorced. Is it at all improbable that Cecil, finding his own position in court slipping away, and believing that the Queen and Dudley had not stopped at murder to promote a union which he knew would upset the Government, should, in the bitterness of his heart, have unbosomed himself to the ambassador of the most powerful European nation, a most able diplomatist, and able to feign a most living sympathy with him ? The game seemed up. Why should he not have taken his pen speedily and made himself a friend ?

Later in the same letter De Quadra writes :—

“The day after this conversation [viz., on the 4th September, four days before the murder] the Queen, on her return from hunting, told me that the Lord Robert’s wife was dead, or nearly so,⁸ and begged me to say nothing about it. Assuredly it is a matter full of shame and infamy, but for all this I do not feel sure she will immediately marry him, or indeed that she will marry him at all.”

Here, again, we are on the horns of a dilemma. If the ambassador is not lying boldly and wholly unnecessarily,

⁷ Canon Jackson, p. 425, says there were rumours that she had a cancer.

⁸ If De Quadra rightly reported her words, she must have known of the intended murder.

Elizabeth's words are only consonant with her being an accessory before the fact.

Just about this time Leicester wrote to Cecil :⁹—

“I pray you let me hear from you what you think it best for me to do. If you doubt, I pray you ask the question ; for the sooner you can advise me thither, the more I shall thank you.

“*I am sorry so sudden a chance should breed me so great a change*, for methinks I am here all this while, as it were in a dream ; and too far from the place I am bound to be. I pray you help him *that sues to be at liberty* out of so great bondage. Forget me not, though you see me not, and I will remember you.”

This letter immediately precedes that of Lever (see *post*, p. 11) pressing for an enquiry into Amy's death, and it has been argued that Elizabeth had put Dudley into arrest on the charge of murdering his wife ;¹ but this seems very improbable.

Now, let us see what are the facts of the death as admitted by the Blount-Leicester Correspondence, printed by Adlard and others, even admitting it was a genuine cotemporary correspondence and not one afterwards concocted, as half suggested by Froude.

That Amy “very early” on the Sunday sent all her own servants² to Abingdon Fair, insisting, in fact, on their going, and allowing none of them to stay at home.

That she invited Mrs. Owen only to dine with her.

That, besides Mrs. Owen, Mrs. Odingsells and Mrs. Forster and all Mrs. Forster's servants stayed at Cumnor.

That, when Amy's servants came home from the fair,

⁹ Haynes, p. 362.

¹ It is most noticeable that the Privy Council Books for this very period are missing.

² *Leicester's Commonwealth* says that Verney and Forster sent away all the servants.

Amy was found lying on the floor of the hall at the foot of a staircase, dead "as it seemeth with a fall."³

It strikes me that a lamer story was never put forward. Why was it left for Amy's servants to find the poor dead body stretched—or arranged—at the stair foot?

Of all the three gentlewomen and of all the servants did no one have occasion to pass through the centre of the building during the afternoon or evening? Is it not grossly improbable that the body should have remained undiscovered till Amy's own servants came home?

But, granted that murder had been done,⁴ what would be more natural than for the murderers to try to deceive the servants into rushing to the conclusion that her death was an accident by letting *them* be the apparent discoverers of the "accident"?

The idea of an accident by a fall down the wide low-treaded stairs of an Elizabethan mansion is, however, absurd, nor is a suicide more probable.

Again, still accepting the evidence of the correspondence, we see that Blount himself was obviously suspicious by the way he cross-examined the landlord as to what he and what the people thought of the affair. The landlord obviously had his own opinion on the subject, but was not going to get himself into trouble by stating it. He says that "some said evil" about the affair, and uses the expression "it is said" that her servants were at the fair,

³ *Leicester's Commonwealth* hints at attempted poisoning. Cecil is said to have told De Quadra she was taking care not to be poisoned. Well might her maid say that she had at divers times heard her pray God to deliver her from desperation.

⁴ In Dom. S. P., Eliz., xxviii. 113, which is probably the nucleus of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, it is said that "as the lady was in the country playing with her ladies at tables, she left the room, fell downstairs, and broke her neck: being thrown down by order of her lord; but he gave it out it was by chance, and no man durst say the contrary."

and "it is said" that she rose early, and so on, but adds, "which was thought a very strange thing for her to do."

Anyhow, Blount clearly is trying to get hold of the jurors and interview them, and some of them bear malice to Forster. One Smith, the foreman, writes to Dudley, apparently amicably, that it was a "very misfortune," upon which Dudley writes, that "touching Smith and the rest, I mean *no more* to deal with them." Should this be read "I have got them to do what I want, and now there is an end of the matter?" How had he "dealt" with them before?

That public suspicion was instantly aroused is clear enough. The Rev. Thos. Lever wrote to the Privy Council on the 17th September from Coventry that there was—

"A grievous and dangerous suspicion and muttering of the death of her which was the wife of my Lord Robert Dudley."

Sir Henry Sidney, though he told the Spanish Ambassador he had examined the circumstances and found nothing like foul play, was obliged to admit that Lord Robert would find it difficult to persuade the world of his innocence, and that there was hardly a person who did not believe there had been foul play, &c.⁵

Killigrew, writing to Throgmorton on the 10th October, admits that they all hear rumours about Amy's death.

On the Continent it seems to have been at once taken for granted that Amy was murdered by her husband at Elizabeth's instigation.⁶

⁵ Jackson, p. 430.

⁶ Foreign State Papers, 1561, No. 88. As long afterwards as 1561 Mundt writes to Cecil that "Most horrid lies have been written from the French Court, Brussels, and Lorraine, by certain important but most impudent personages to the German princes, concerning the Queen and her Master of the Horse."

“Mary Stuart’s wit gave expression to the popular feeling. The Queen of England, she said, was about to marry her horsekeeper, who had killed his wife to make a place for her.”⁷

Gonzalez⁸ says :—

“Elizabeth now publicly announced her resolution shortly to marry, and the death of Leicester’s wife accredited the suspicion she had chosen him. The Secretary Cecil and the Duke of Norfolk were ill affected towards her for the lavish favours she bestowed upon him. Moreover, it was bruited about that the Queen and Leicester had planned the assassination of his wife, since she was found in a country house with a stroke from the point of a dagger in her head.”

The news of Amy’s death spread far and wide. It was startling news if it were only a coincidence, for it had been prophesied long before. Equally of course, letters of condolence must have poured in to the favourite from all quarters. Canon Jackson, p. 431, prints one from the Earl of Huntingdon, and says that it would have simply been a piece of sickening hypocrisy if the writer had ever had the faintest inkling of ill will or ill conduct on the part of Dudley towards his wife.

Throgmorton, the English Ambassador in France, on 10th October, writes in much the same strain,⁹ viz. :—

“My very good Lord,

“By letters from my friend, and at your Lordship’s commands to Mr. Killigrew¹ of the 20th of the last, which I received the 7th of this present, I understand of the cruel mischance late happened to my Lady your late Bedfellow, to your discomfort. But for that God hath thus disposed of things, the greatest of your by this time being assuaged, and the remembrance thereof partly worn, I will no further condole with your

⁷ Froude, vi. p. 438. Throgmorton to Cecil, 20th October.

⁸ *Documents from Simancas, relating to the Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 69.

⁹ Record Office, State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth, October, 1560, vol. xix. 625.

¹ Throgmorton soon after received a letter from Killigrew, dated 10th October, 1560, which referred to strange rumours about Amy’s death, which had already reached Paris. Carefully underlining the whole sentence of seventy-two words, he admits that they all hear these rumours; but protests the whole affair was an accident. Was the underlining a hint?

Lordship thereby to renew your grief. But only say that as we be all mortal, subject to many hazards (experience daily sheweth) and have no sure abiding in this unquiet world, so is she gone before whither we must all follow, to a place of more assurance and more quiet than any can be in this vale.

“By letters from my wife I understand hath mounted me again by a nag that your Lordship hath given me, for the which I heartily thank you, for before I was a-foot. But I would thank you more if you would find the means that I might come home in post to hunt and hawk in England. And yet, though I love them well, it should be more in respect of the Queen’s Majesty’s service than for mine own pleasure, for to say truly it were meeter for me especially to hunt and hawk in England than to be Ambassador here as things have fallen out of late and do daily.

“By my last letters to your Lordship I wrote to the same to prepare your horse and armour, and to order yourself to encounter with the lustiest and activest gallant of this Court at the tilt who was then coming into England, since which time his going or stay have been diversly balanced, and now of late revived, &c.”

Endorsed “10th October, 1560.

“To the L. Robert Dudley.

“he condoleth for the death of my Lord’s wife.”

But what else could either the Earl or the ambassador have written to an all-powerful favourite under the circumstances? If either had dared to have written that he thought murder had been committed, how long would it have been before he would have been laid by the heels in a prison, or would have felt his entrails burn with Italian poison?

What Throgmorton really *did* think² about the matter we can see for ourselves from his letter to Cecil of the 28th October, 1560. He complains that Cecil’s last letter was unsatisfactory. He had expected it would somewhat satisfy and resolve him touching the greatest matter of all—the Queen’s marriage. He writes strongly and vehemently—

“I know not what to think nor how to understand your letter in that point. And the bruits be so brim and so maliciously reported here touching

² What *Cecil* thought is clear from his parallel column statement of 1566 (Froude, vii. p. 427)—“he is infamed by the death of his wife.”

the marriage of the Lord Robert and the death of his wife, as I know not where to turn me nor what countenance to bear.

“Sir, I thank God I had rather perish and quail with honesty than live and beguile a little time with shame.

“And therefore I tell you plainly until I hear off or on what you think in that matter, I see no reason in the advising of her Majesty. Marry, to you I say in private, that albeit I do like him for some respects well, and esteem him for many good parts and gifts of nature that be in him and do with him well to do; yet the love, duty, and affection that I bear to the Queen’s Majesty and to the surety of herself and her realm, doth and shall during my life take more place in me than any friendship or any particular case. And therefore I say if that marriage take place I know not to what purpose any advice or counsel should be given, for as I see into the matter none would serve. If you think that I have any small skill or judgment in things at home or on this side, or can conjecture sequels, I do assure you in the matter succeeding our state is in great danger of utter ruin and destruction. And so far methinketh I see into the matter, as I wish myself already dead, because I would not live in that time. I beseech you like as I deal plainly with you so to signify plainly unto me, not only what is done in that matter, but what you think will be the end.

“Thereupon you shall perceive that I will write unto her Majesty ³ my poor advice in such sort as becometh a true and faithful Servant. And if the matter be not already determined and so far past as advice will not serve, I require you, as you bear a true and faithful heart to her Majesty and the realm, and do desire to keep them from utter desolation and in *visceribus Jesu Christi*, I conjure you to do all your endeavour to hinder that marriage. For if it take place there is no Counsel nor advice that can help. Who would be either patron or mariner when there is no remedy to keep the ship from sinking? As we begin already to be in derision or hatred for the bruit only and nothing taken here on this side more assured than our destruction; so if it take place we shall be *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*, God and religion, which be the fundaments, shall be out of estimation; the Queen our Sovereign discredited, contemned, and neglected; our country ruined, undone, and made prey.

“Wherefore with tears and sighs, as one being already almost confounded, I beseech you again and again set to your wits and all your help to stay the Commonwealth which lieth now in great hazard. Let us remember what this noble wise man said when he used these words—‘Ego enim existimo melius agi cum civibus privatim si tota respublica fortunata sit quam si per singulos cives felix sit publicè vero labe factetur (?) Nam quum evertitur

³ Can this be the letter 730?

patria, is, cui privatim bene est, nihil tamen minus et ipse evertitur, cui autem male, is in illa prosperè agente, multo magis incolumis est.'

"For your letters they be as safe in my hand as in your own, and more safe in mine than in any messenger's.

"Think it assuredly I am as jealous of your safety and well doing as yourself, and so conceive of me."

What can we think of such a letter? He tells Cecil roundly that unless Cecil lets him know without any shilly shallying what he thinks of the affair, he for one will not write home to the Queen with the pleasant advice⁴ in favour of the marriage, which it is clear from the context he was almost told to give. What could have been the cause for the writer's vehement, impassioned protests against the proposed marriage? Was it not, as he says, that the English people were beginning to be the object of derision and hatred from the rumour only of such a scandal, that a Queen should in October be thinking of marrying a man whose wife had met a violent and suspicious death in September?

That Cecil's letters contained deadly secrets is clear from his anxiety to have them back, which we gather from Throgmorton's reply, but the clever intriguing ambassador had no mind to part with them.

"For your letters they be as safe in my hand as in your own, and more safe in mine than in any messenger's."

Here we have the startling fact that Cecil, in little more than a month after Amy's death, is writing to Throgmorton, practically telling him to give advice he knows will be well received.⁴

Can we think that Cecil would have so written if he had the faintest doubt in his own mind that the Queen was seriously contemplating the step, and wisely wanted to

⁴ "Which amongst other things containeth your advice to have me write to Her Majesty," &c.

know how it would be received by the public generally.⁵ Granted that she was base enough to entertain the idea at such a time, I think that we may also grant that she might well have winked at the murder, even if she were not accessory to it.⁶

Next we have a letter from Throgmorton to his brother ambassador (Chamberlain) in Spain, dated 19th October, 1560, urging him to write in his official capacity against the marriage. The very style of the letter and its allusions show that in October Throgmorton knew that his colleague at Madrid was well posted up in the rumours of a marriage between the Queen and Dudley even before his wife was dead.

"My friends advertise me from home that my Lord Robert's wife is dead, and hath by mischance broken her own neck; and here it is openly bruited by the French that her neck was broken, with such other appendances as I am withal brought to be weary of my life. I pray God hold His holy hand over us, and so evil be the reports as I am ashamed to write them; but as you are a wise man, and can consider how much it importeth the Queen's Majesty's honour and the Realm to have the same ceased, so I trust you will by your letters thence, as I do from hence, help to do some good for the appeasing of the same; for though there be wise men at home who know what is meet to be done in such cases, yet the advertisement thereof from ministers abroad hath a great deal more force, which I write unto you, because that we be both in one ship, and that the tempest must touch us both alike"

"From Paris the xixth of October, 1560.

"Your assured friend."

We next come to another letter⁷ from Throgmorton to Cecil, dated 17th November, 1560. He refers to rumour in France which speaks of *Her Majesty's great inclination to live in pleasure and quietness*, that Her Majesty would do her own pleasure in all things.

⁵ See Jones' *Letter to Throgmorton*, p. 163.

⁶ Record Office, State Papers, Elizabeth, October, 1560, xix. 690; new, No. 411.

⁷ Foreign State Papers 449, vol. xix; Hardwick, i. p. 144.

"And lastly and chiefly that they take it for truth and certain that her Majesty will marry the Lord Robert Dudley, whereby they expect more discontentation thereby amongst themselves. Thus you see your sore ; God grant it do not with rankling fester too far and too dangerously."

By the same post⁸ Throgmorton writes to Dudley himself. One paragraph is worth printing.

"Much the Queen's Majesty therefore and her realm have to bethink themselves, knowing these men's just meanings there needeth no other advice, *Her Highness do consider indeed in time, and leave other . . . of less weight undone till another time.*⁹ I fear, yea, see before my (eyes) she shall hear of a French cast, as your Lordship termeth it, sooner than I would be glad of."

Yet another letter¹ the busy Throgmorton sent to England by this post. It was originally addressed to a female, but is endorsed "Throgmorton to the Marquis of Northampton and Lord Pembroke." Can it be that it was originally intended to be sent to the Queen herself? It runs thus:—

"Madam [struck through], if I thought you would be better pleased with sweet and new words than with well and old meaning I would whet my speech and affectate some novelty ; but taking that you measure your friends by proof and doings, and not by show and sayings, I will leave ceremonies and circumstances, and talk to you as to my good lord.

"The bruits lately risen from thence are marvellous and marvellously talked of. They are accompanied with much spite, and set to fail (?) with great horror. They are no mean persons nor of small regard that give, in these parts, these rumours. *I never heard nor read sorer nor more slanderous discourse ;* and therefore, I pray you be pleased that I say to you as I ought, to move you to do as you should, which I trust you would do though I held my peace. You were never deemed a busy-body, and especially in matters accompanied with peril. Begin not now, good my Lord,² to wrestle in a matter that is so beset with so many dangers.

"If you will trust my judgment, or if you think that I can see into the world, *esteem the marriage matter the most beset with great hazards of anything that ever you were acquainted with.* So I pray you give the looking on only,

⁸ $\frac{172}{437}$ (?) endorsed 17 November, 1560 (now first printed.)

⁹ Surely relates to the marriage scheme.

¹ Foreign State Papers $\frac{720}{436}$ (now first printed.)

² This second person singular shows the endorsement to be wrong.

if you be required or inclined to be a furtherer; and if you be so happy as not to mind it, or so zealous as to hinder it, think yourself wise for your judgment and happy for your fortune."

Next day, 18th November, 1560,³ Throgmorton has occasion to write to Cecil, introducing an ambassador from the Duke of Savoy. The ambassador, he says,

"Hath to break with her Majesty, in the Duke his master's name, for marriage with the Duke of Nemours, which I perceive by communication passed between us he mindeth to set forth, *if the matter be not too far passed at home, as all the bruit is here that it is.* For this gentlemen was told by the Pope's Ambassador here that he should come into England in good time to Her Highness's marriage with the Master of her Horses.

"In case this gentleman shall find her Majesty at liberty from any such thing . . ."

Not the least interesting of the correspondence is the letter⁴ from Jones to Throgmorton, dated 30th November, from England.

"The 26th of November all my lords of the Council dined at the Scotch Ambassador's lodging, where they were very highly feasted. I repaired thither to shew myself to my lords, where after I had attended half dinner time my lord Robert rose up and went to the Court, and in the way sent a gentleman back to will me to repair thither after him, as I did after I had declared the message to Mr. Secretary. Being come unto him he asked me whether the French Queen had said that the Queen's Majesty would marry her Horsekeeper, and told me he had seen all the discourse of your Lordship's proceedings, together with the intelligence, and that Mr. Secretary told him that the French Queen had said so. I answered that I said no such matter. He laid the matter upon me so strong as the author thereof, being avowed I would not deny that the French Queen had said that the Queen would marry the Master of the Horses. This was all he said to me, and he willed me that I should in no case let it be known to Mr. Secretary that he had told me thus much, as I have not indeed nor mean not to do, whereby I judge that Mr. Secretary did declare it only to the Queen, at whose hands my Lord Robert had it. The same night I spake to Mr. Killigrew, and having delivered your Lordship's letter and told him of the intelligence, he said in the end unto me with as it were a sad look, 'I think verily that my Lord Robert shall run away with the hare

³ P. 146.

⁴ Printed (Hardwick State Papers, i. pp. 163—9.)

and have the Queen,' to whom I answered nothing. Thus much I thought good to write before I came to speak of my proceeding with the Queen's Majesty."

He then goes on to describe his interview with the Queen.

"When I came to touch nearer the quick, 'I have heard of this before (quoth she) and he need not have sent you withal.' I said that the care you had was so great as you could not but advertise her Majesty of such things as might touch her, and that you took this to be no matter to be opened but to herself. When I came to the point that touched his race, which I set forth in as vehement terms as the case required, and that the Duke's hatred was rather to her than to the Queen her sister, she laughed, and forthwith turned herself to the one side and to the other, and set her hand upon her face. She thereupon told me that the matter had been tried in the country, and found to be contrary to which was reported, saying that he was then in the Court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's house, and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty, nor her honour. Quoth she, *my Ambassador knoweth somewhat of my mind in these matters.*

"She heard me very patiently, I think the rather because I made (before I spake unto her Majesty) a long protestation, as methought I had need to do, considering that my Lord Robert knew thereof as much as he did. Her Majesty promised me *fidem, taciturnitatem, et favorem*, the last whereof I found towards myself, but as for your Lordship, she not once made mention of you unto me, unless that once or twice she asked whether your Lordship willed me to declare this matter unto her, as I affirmed you did. Thus much have I thought good to write touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For the Venetian Ambassador's talk; she protested that she never to any Ambassador or other disclosed any and nobody but Mr. Secretary knew of these matters, who was, she said, wise enough.

"When I rehearsed the terms of *veneficii* and *maleficii reus* she caused me to repeat the same twice or thrice, which, methought, did move her more than that I said touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For the Marquis she believed the first part, touching his affection towards her, and for the last of that he reported touching her Majesty's discourse with him for the not marrying of any other subjects, she affirmed unto me that it was never spoken unto him touching any such matter.

* * * * *

"The Queen's Majesty looketh not so hearty and well as she did by a great deal, and surely the matter of my Lord Robert doth much perplex her, and it is never like to take place, and the talk thereof is somewhat slack, as generally misliked, but of the settors forth thereof, who are as your Lordship knoweth.

* * * * *

"The Queen's Majesty stayeth the creation. The Bills were made for the purpose at the day appointed. When they were presented she, with a knife, cut them asunder. I can by no means learn, and yet I have talked with such as know much, that my Lord Robert's matters will not go as was looked for, and yet the favours be great which are shewed him at the Queen's Majesty's hands."

On the 31st December Throgmorton writes⁵ to Cecil about the marriage in the following very strong terms:—

"*But if Her Majesty do so foully forget herself* in her marriage as the bruit runneth here, never think to bring anything to pass either here or elsewhere. I would you did hear the lamentations, the declamations, and sundry affections which have course here for that matter . . . Sir, after I had written this much, the Ambassador of Spain came to visit me; who did, amongst other matters, earnestly require me to tell him whether the Queen's Majesty was not secretly married to the Lord Robert, for, said he, I assure you this Court is full of it."

In less than a month, if there is any truth at all in De Quadra's letters, a suggestion was actually thrown out by the Dudley faction to the Spanish Ambassador that in effect the Queen would re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in exchange for Spanish support to her marriage to Dudley. The letter, which is dated 22nd January, cannot be much curtailed, so I subjoin most of it from Froude.⁶

"There came lately to me Sir Henry Sidney, who is married to Lord Robert's sister, a high-spirited noble sort of person, and one of the best men the Queen has about the Court. After speaking, generally, on ordinary matters, he came to the affair of his brother-in-law, and the substance of his words to me was this: The marriage was now in everybody's mouth, he said; and the Queen, I must be aware, was very anxious for it. He was surprised that I had not advised your Majesty to use the opportunity to gain Lord Robert's good will. Your Majesty would find Lord Robert as ready to obey you and do you service as one of your own vassals; with more to the same purpose.

"I replied that all which I had heard about the business was of such a character that I had not ventured to write two lines to your Majesty on the

⁵ Throgmorton to Cecil. 31st December, Conway MSS., Rolls House.

⁶ Vol. vi. pp. 452-5.

subject. Neither the Queen nor Lord Robert had spoken to me about it; and it was of no more importance to your Majesty to gain the good will of English sovereigns than it was to them to gain your Majesty's. Your Majesty could not divine the Queen's wishes; and she had shown so little inclination to follow your advice when you had offered it hitherto, that you could not be expected to volunteer your opinion.

"He admitted this, he is evidently well acquainted with what has passed, and he is not too prejudiced to see the truth. But he added that if I could be satisfied about Lady Dudley's death, he thought I could not object to informing your Majesty of what he had said. The Queen and Lord Robert were lovers, but they intended honest marriage, and nothing wrong had taken place between them which could not be set right with your Majesty's help. *As to Lady Dudley's death, he said that he had examined carefully into the circumstances, and he was satisfied that it had been accidental, although he admitted that others thought differently.*

"If this was true, I replied, things were not so bad as I had believed. Had Lady Dudley been murdered, God and man would surely have punished so abominable a crime. *Lord Robert however would find it difficult to persuade the world of his innocence.*

"*He allowed that there was hardly a person who did not believe that there had been foul play. The preachers in their pulpits spoke of it, not sparing even the honour of the Queen, and this, he said, had brought her to consider whether she could not restore order in the realm in these matters of religion. She was anxious to do it, and Lord Robert to his own knowledge would be ready to assist.*"

On the 13th February, 1561, Dudley himself waited on De Quadra, and repeated the proposition, and a day or two after Elizabeth herself saw him, and De Quadra writes thus of the interview: ⁷—

"It came to this, that she was no angel. She could not deny that she had a strong regard for the many excellent qualities which she saw in Lord Robert. She had not, indeed, resolved to marry either him or anyone; only every day she felt more and more the want of a husband. She thought her own people would like to see her married to an Englishman."

Gonzalez in his *Documents from the Simancas relating to the Reign of Elizabeth*, under date 25th February, 1561, writes:—

"The rumours that Elizabeth now indulged in the most intimate inter-

⁷ Sharon Turner's *Elizabeth*, p. 569; Strickland's *Elizabeth*, vi. p. 257.

course with Leicester became so brim that in one of the audiences with De Quadra she tried to exculpate herself, showing the arrangement of her private apartments, and seeking to persuade him that the reports were unfounded and calumnious The preachers now alluded in disparaging terms to Elizabeth in their sermons, because of her conduct with Leicester At the beginning of April, Elizabeth, under the pretext that Leicester's apartments, being low, were unhealthy, gave him others on an upper story near to her own."

Matters went on like this till the 30th June, when, if De Quadra is to be believed, he was on the Thames in a barge with the Queen and Dudley.⁸

"When they began to talk nonsense, and went so far that Lord Robert at last said as I was on the spot there was no reason why they should not be married if the Queen pleased. She said that perhaps I did not understand sufficient English. I let them trifle in this way for a time, and then I said gravely to them both that if they would be guided by me they would shake off the tyranny of those men who were oppressing the realm and them, they would restore religion and good order, and they could then marry when they pleased," &c.

Now, very shortly afterwards we get a letter from Cecil to Throgmorton on the 15th July, in which ⁹ Cecil deplored

"the increasing credit with her of the Spanish Ambassador. There were secrets between them which he could not penetrate, only he knew that De Quadra seemed to seek by all means overt and covert to further the marriage, and to procure the Lord Robert to have evil thoughts of himself" [Cecil.]

This seems to me an independent and most trustworthy corroboration of one at least of De Quadra's letters.

In 1561 Throgmorton was apparently suggesting a match with the King of Sweden, for in April, 1561, the Earl of Bedford writes,¹ cautioning him that—

"The Lord Robert says that Throckmorton has of late written letters greatly in favour of the marriage with the King [of Sweden], if it so be it is more than I hear of gladly."

⁸ Froude, vi. p. 497.

⁹ Ib. 504.

¹ Foreign State Papers, 1561, No. 84.

A few months later (28th June) Sir Henry Neville writes² to Throgmorton, telling him that there had been a great breach between the Queen and Dudley about the creation, but that now they were as friendly as ever.

“And yet to some, if they talk with her of having of him she will pup with her mouth, and say that she will not be fellow with the Duchess of Norfolk, that men will come and ask for my Lord’s Grace; and when it is answered she may make him King she will in no way agree unto.”

Here we cease to get any further light on the subject from Throgmorton’s letters.³ The Queen gradually saw the folly of her ways, and the danger was over, except for poor Throgmorton, for whom Dudley had a long reckoning.⁴

Amy has been dead seven years. There is now little chance of the Queen marrying Dudley, and men’s minds are exercised with other things, and have forgotten the old scandal. Dudley is now Earl of Leicester, and more powerful than ever, when (in 1567) it is rumoured about that John Appleyard had said that “he had not been satisfied with the verdict of the jury at her death, but that for the sake of Dudley he had covered the murder of his sister.”

A proper blackguard this on his own showing,⁵ and therefore of course less worthy of credit; but it is worth while to print below what we know about him.⁶

² Foreign State Papers, No. 272.

³ He seems to have become disheartened and disgusted with the whole affair, for in the Privy Council Books (16 July, 1562) there is direction that he “shall write more often hither, notwithstanding he shall have no great matter to signify for the better clearing of such perplexities as here may be conceived of [from] the want of hearing from him.”

⁴ *Post*, p. 40.

⁵ Of course, one must not forget he denied having said anything of the sort, but his denial is a weak one, and probably made in sight of the rack.

⁶ He was born about 1526, and was, as we have seen, half-brother to Amy Robsart, and was present at the inquest. In his examination before the

When brought up before the Privy Council he apparently denied ever having said anything of the sort, and tried to make out that he only said some one had tried to get him to say so. He told a cock and bull story about staying at Hampton Court in the previous year, and some one coming over the water and getting him to go across to talk to a mysterious stranger,⁷ who argued with him that "as the Earl of Leicester did him no more good, although he had deserved much at his hand, if he would be content to stir some matter against him for the death of his wife he should

Council he alleged that in Queen Mary's time he had ventured himself, and all that he had, to help the Earl and his wife. He was, no doubt, in with the Dudleys in the Lady Jane rebellion, for he was ordered not to be dismissed from the Court (Privy Council Register, 26 July, 1553), and in 1556 was again in attendance before the commissioners.

We know he was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1558.

He had, at the Earl's intercession (see his confession in Appendix), a grant to seize concealed prizes; and in 1564 he was made Keeper of the Marshalsea, and was suing Peres Edgcombe in the Admiralty Court—no doubt by virtue of this grant. The Earl had also been bound for him to discharge a debt of £400; got him made Porter of Berwick in 1565 (Privy Council Books), and Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk.

In 1566 he sold all his furniture in Stanfield Hall to Edward Flowerdew, who came to live there.—Blom. *Norf.* ii. p. 502.

That he was a disappointed man is clear enough, for in his confession he talks of having received many fair promises of good turns from the Earl, and never had the fruits thereof. He admits the Earl, of late, had sent him to Ireland, and given him £100 in his purse and 100 marks a year; but then wanted him to go to France and stay there, which looks suspicious. Cecil, however, clearly thought he was unduly favoured by Leicester.

In 1570 he broke out into open rebellion, plotting (*i. a.*) the imprisonment of Leicester, and was ordered to be hung.

In 1574 he was a prisoner in Norwich Castle; but, then being ill, was allowed to live in the Sheriff's house and then in the Dean's.—Privy Council Register.

I do not know when he died, unless he is the John Appleyard whose Inq. p. m. was taken in 1596.

⁷ The insinuation shown by these confessions (see Appendix) was clearly that the proposition came from the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Sussex, by way of intrigue against Leicester.

find good maintenance therein, and should not want £1000 to relieve him." To this Appleyard made out that he replied in the negative, with much show of virtuous indignation.

When writing to the Council from the Fleet Prison⁸ on the last of May, 1567, he desires to have a copy of the verdict presented by the coroner, whereby he might see what the jury found, and that he might then take some learned advice in what sort he might best proceed, or rather hope to begin the trial of the cause, adding that possibly the sight of the verdict might fully satisfy him.⁹

A "copy of the verdict" seems to have been sent to him, for on the 4th June he writes, returning it, stating that he finds in it

"Not only such proofs testified under the oaths of 15 persons how my late sister by misfortune happened of [her] death, but also such manifest and plain demonstration thereof as hath fully and clearly satisfied and persuaded me,"

and, having thus made his submission, proceeds to beg abjectly for mercy.¹

From a letter preserved in the Pepys MSS. at Cambridge, (with Blount's other letters so often cited) is one² from Blount to Leicester about 1566, referring to his having been sent for by the Council to be cross-questioned about Amy's death. He tells Leicester he is very sorry that he had not been able to speak with him before he was examined. It seems that *more than one* of Amy's relations had been raising questions about her death; that Appleyard had been offered £1000 to give evidence; and "that Leicester in an interview with Appleyard had been so angry that Blount thought he would have run him through the body."

This is the last scrap yet found about the ill-fated Amy.

⁸ Having himself recently been Marshal of the Marshalsea, I suppose he was sent to the Fleet for extra security.

⁹ Hatfield Papers (now first printed in Appendix).

¹ *Ib.* (now first printed in Appendix).

² Froude, vi. p. 424, n.

CHAPTER II.

What do we know of Queen Elizabeth?

Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, her great-grandfather on the mother's side, was Lord Mayor of London in 1457, was a successful London merchant, and married Anne, daughter and coheirress of Thomas, Lord Hoo and Hastings. He is said to have been descended from a family long settled at Sall in Norfolk; but very careful search (and I think I may say that my opportunities for searching about Norfolk pedigrees are not worse than any one else's) has failed to convince me that there is the slightest foundation for this assertion. That he sprang from a Norfolk family there is little doubt, for he bought a Norfolk manor (Blickling), and the name was not uncommon in the county, but always among people of the lower classes, *e.g.*, Edmund Boleyn, shoemaker, 33rd Henry VI. (List of Norwich Freemen.) But the earliest Boleyn I can trace at Sall is the Thomas Boleyn who bought land at Sall of Thomas de Bekham in 1370,³ and (with others) of Wm. Parmonter and wife,⁴ in 6th Ric. II. He was, I apprehend, the same man as the Thomas Boleyn who died 30th April, 1411, and the father of the Jeffrey Boleyn who we know from the will of the Lord Mayor was the latter's father. This Jeffrey and his wife Alice are buried in Sall Church, the date of his death being 1440.

Blomefield, following the family pedigree, derives them

³ Feet of Fines, 43rd Edward III., No. 1385.

⁴ Feet of Fines, 6th Richard II., No 85.

from a John de Boleyn of Salle, who is said to have lived at Salle in 1283, and to have been probably son of "Simon de Boleyn who purchased lands by fine in the 37th Hen. III." But my recent *Calendar of Norfolk Fines* enables me to say positively that no such fine exists, if it ever existed.

"De Boleyn," in fact, simply meant "of Boulogne," which place was called "Boleyn" in 1462.⁵ The name naturally occurs in England at various times, *e.g.* in 1398, when a William Boleyn granted lands in Lincolnshire to the poor of Markeby,⁶ but there is nothing at present to connect the scattered individuals who bore it with any family resident at Sall.

Hepworth Dixon, a bad witness I will admit, says⁷ that the Boleyns "were a family of French descent, who came to London for the sake of trade;" but I do not know his authority.

The fact would seem to be that the Queen descended from a family of no consequence at all, who settled at Sall at a comparatively recent period. That they were not of knightly degree is clear enough from the absolute silence of all feodaries, inquisitions post mortem, and so on, as to them.

By some Ann Boleyn is made out an innocent woman, who, with her brother, was judicially murdered by her husband to make room for Jane Seymour, whom he married the day after her execution. If this view is right Elizabeth was the daughter of an atrocious murderer. But if, as

⁵ *Paston Letters*.

⁶ Inq. ad quod dam. 22nd Richard II.; also see Rot. Pat. i. p. 328. Ralph, son and heir of Alan Boleyn (1314-15.)

⁷ *A History of Two Queens*, vol. 1, p. 362.

Froude believes, and I think the evidence shows, that Ann Boleyn was guilty of the crimes attributed to her, then Elizabeth was the daughter of the vilest and most abandoned woman of her age.

There is no third course. Elizabeth must have been, on one side or the other, the daughter of an abominable parent—male or female as you please, and the inheritor of as bad blood as might be.

There is one possibility, and it is charitable to point it out. There is no doubt that Elizabeth had an hereditary strain of madness in her, for Anne Boleyn's grandmother, Margaret Butler, was undoubtedly insane, a fact which has, I think, hitherto escaped attention.⁸ But, on the other hand there must have been something bad in Anne's own mother's blood, for it must not be forgotten that her mother was the aunt of Catherine Howard, as to whose guilt I believe there is no question of doubt.

As to Elizabeth's precocity there can also be little doubt, for when *under fifteen* years old she clearly entertained the idea of marrying Lord Seymour, the Admiral, then a middle-aged man;⁹ for on the 28th January, 1548,¹ she speaks of never agreeing thereto "without the Council's consent." That scandal was rife about her even at that very early age is clear, for she herself refers to rumours that she was in child by the Admiral. The confessions of the various domestics before the Privy Council show (1) that the

⁸ Esch. Inq. Camb. and Hunt. 30th and 31st Henry VIII. (now first printed in Appendix VI.)

⁹ "A man furthest from the fear of God that I ever knew or heard of in England."—Latimer.

¹ See Appendix.

Admiral used to go to Elizabeth's chamber without the Queen, "which of some was misliked"; (2) that the Queen was jealous of Elizabeth, having found her in the Admiral's arms; and (3) that the Admiral took improper liberties with her in the morning in bed, "striking her upon the back and on the buttocks familiarly."

I have printed all these confessions and depositions in Appendix V., so my readers will be able to judge for themselves what as to credit they deserve.

Not long after, Elizabeth was in charge of Sir Henry Bedingfeld at Woodstock. One of her servants there was a Francis *Verney*. She was in charge of Sir Thomas Pope at Hatfield in 1555, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Walter *Blount*. Whether there is anything in the coincidence of this Verney and this Blount with the Verney and Blount of the murder who can say?

Accusations against Elizabeth for acts of immorality with hosts of people have been brought forward from time to time. It is impossible that all of them could have been true. But she was probably guilty of improprieties so gross that the rough Englishmen of the day could hardly believe that there was no fire where there was so much smoke.

Many names of her so-called favourites have been linked with hers in scandal, but of several, such as Sir William Pickering,² as early as 1559, and Sir John Perrot,³ there is no evidence at all of any improprieties; while as to the Earl of Essex her favouritism began when the Queen was so old, and he so young, that it is hardly probable there was anything but Platonic affection between them.

Nor is there much more in the alleged intimacy with the French Ambassador, De Simyer, first mentioned in Mary

² See Gonzalez' *Archives of the Simancas*, p. 59.

³ Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*.

of Scots' abusive letter. There are only three facts bearing on his alleged intrigue, and they may mean nothing after all. He died suddenly, it is said of Dudley's poison. Elizabeth herself wrote very favourably of him to Sir Amyas Paulet;⁴ and in July, 1579, when Hatton and he were with the Queen in a barge between Deptford and Greenwich, a shot was fired into it which wounded one of the rowers, and may have been meant for De Simyer, who Camden says was "a most choice courtier, exquisitely skilled in love toys, pleasant conceits, and court dalliances."

But when we come to Dudley and Hatton the case is different, and we have something more like proof. Neither man had the faintest pretensions to statesmanlike ability, but the one was made Master of the Horse and practically Prime Minister, and the other Lord Keeper. Both men were extremely comely in appearance, and both were loaded with gifts by the Queen. Leicester's gifts began from the moment that the Queen had power to give him anything, but just at the time Hatton came into favour there was a strange intermission of them, for it will be seen by the two tables collected by me from the Patent and other Rolls (Appendix XV.) during the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th Elizabeth, Leicester had four gifts, and nothing at all in 11th and 12th, while Hatton had twelve.

Why, we may well ask, were these enormous presents given to these two courtiers of no intrinsic merit, who never served her but badly, when the ablest and keenest statesman of the day went hardly rewarded at all?

Deservedly or not, scandal was rife about Elizabeth and Leicester very early in the former's reign. People failed to understand why the Queen should have at once so highly promoted, and so richly rewarded, a man as to whose public character no good at all events was known.

⁴ Additional MSS. 15891, fo. 6^b.

On the 13th of August, 1560, Cecil received the examinations of divers people in Essex as to slanderous reports against the Queen, and Anne Dowe of Brentwood was sent to prison for openly asserting that the Queen had had a child by Dudley.⁵

About the same time, Thomas Burley of Totnes said "that the Lord Robert dyd swyve the Queen."⁶

In 1563, depositions were taken before two Justices of the Peace, as to one Robert Brooke, an innkeeper of Devizes, having spread rumours that the Queen had been gotten with child by Lord Robert.⁷

"A lewde Pasquyle sette forthe by certeen of the Parlyament men in 8th Elizabeth,"⁸ may also be consulted.

In 1570, Mr. Marsham at Norwich, said that "my Lord of Leicester had two children by the Queen," and was sentenced to lose both his ears *or* pay £100,⁹ a very mild punishment, when we consider how poor Stubbs suffered for a much milder offence.

One Mather, in 1571, accused the Queen of personal impropriety with both Leicester and Hatton.¹

In 1572, Archbishop Parker writes to Burghley that some one had accused the Queen of incontinence with the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Hatton.²

Still later, in 1578, we have John Gunter's information against Mr. Darrell,³ who is accused of having said that the Queen "was a drunkard and a naughty woman of her body;" and about the same time, Francis Edderman of

⁵ Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth, xiii. 21.

⁶ Hatfield Papers, 152.

⁷ Harl. MSS. 6690, art. 24, noted by J. G. Nichols in *Notes and Queries*, second series, vii. p. 106.

⁸ Cambridge University MSS. F. fo. v. 14, note 7.

⁹ Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, i. pp. 514-15.

¹ Murdin's State Papers, p. 204.

² Lansdowne MSS., 15, art. 43.

³ Printed in Appendix IX., X., and XI.

Chester is reported to have said that "the Earl hath had two children by the Queen."⁴

So much for her intimacy with Leicester, which, rightly or wrongly, provoked the strongest rumours of impropriety all over England. Whether she sinned with him or not my readers must judge for themselves. It is not necessary for the purpose of the present enquiry to prove that she did, and the above rumours are set down only to prove how intimate their relations must have been to cause them. Granted that such relations were extremely intimate, and De Quadra's direct evidence of the Queen's foreknowledge of Amy's death, and of her intention to marry Leicester, is immensely strengthened.

It will be remembered that the intimacy, flirtation, or whatever you like to call it, between the Queen and Leicester, was broken in upon by another with Hatton; and as this episode is a curious one, and is supported by some documentary evidence, it is worth while to go somewhat closely into it. I have already pointed out the circumstance that while this interruption was taking place, the golden stream from the Court was entirely diverted from Leicester to Hatton, but it would be hard indeed to know *why*, if we exclude the popular idea.

⁴ It is said that there is an entry in a well-kept, "partially illuminated MS.," preserved at the Free School at Shrewsbury, as to an illegitimate son of the Queen by Dudley having been educated there. See *Antiquary*, iii. p. 250.

As to this child, "Arthur Dudley," see Lingard, vi. 659, and note E. E. 718.

Gonzalez (*Documents from Simancas relating to the Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 89) under date 11th April, 1564, says, "there was now a rumour that from Richmond Elizabeth went to Werwich. [Gonzalez's editor suggests Barwick, but surely the idea was Warwick.—W.R.] Some said it was to relieve herself from a womanly frailty."

Henry IV. of France said, by way of a joke to a Scotchman, "there are three things inscrutable to intelligence, one being whether Queen Elizabeth was a maid or not."—Turner, iv. p. 588.

Hatton was a man of no great family or estate, and is usually said to have attracted the Queen's attention in 1561, by his graceful dancing at a masque given by the Members of the Inner Temple.

It was not however till 1568 that he became the recipient of the Queen's bounty to any extent.⁵ In 1570 rumours of his intimacy with the Queen were beginning to spread, but the period of the actual intimacy, if any, must have been short; for from 1572 he was apparently being displaced by the young Earl of Oxford.

It is in connection with this episode that we get the most singular written proof of incontinency against the Queen, viz., in the undoubtedly genuine⁶ letter of Edward Dyer to Hatton, dated 9th October, 1572, in which he gives him some excellent advice not to reproach Elizabeth for a change in her sentiments, and says:—

“First of all you must consider with whom you have to deal, and what we be towards her who, *though she do descend very much in her sex as a woman*, yet we may not forget her place and the nature of it as our Sovereign.”

Some of Hatton's own letters to the Queen, in which he styles himself sometimes “Lids” or “Lyddes” and sometimes your “Mutton,” and addresses her in cypher, are couched in language which, as Nicolas says, is that of an ardent and successful lover, *e.g.*—

“Would God I were with you but for one hour. Bear with me, my most dear, sweet lady. *Passion overcomes me*. I can write no more. Love me, for I love you.”

This is no euphuistic admiration to a Virgin Queen, but the hot strong words of a love, burning or simulated.

⁵ During the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th Elizabeth, Leicester received four gifts only, while Hatton had twelve.

⁶ Hatton's *Life*, p. 17. I am aware that the genuineness of this letter has been doubted (see *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vii. p. 283), but it seems to me on very slight grounds. It has become too much a habit of writers to deny the authenticity of documents which do not fit in with their preconceived ideas of history.

Hatton⁷ himself is reported to have said of Elizabeth, that the Queen did fish for men's souls, and had so sweet a bait that no one could escape her network.—*Campbell*, ii., p. 162.

One very strong argument in favour of the position that Elizabeth really, in the ordinary acceptance of the word, loved her favourites, is the jealousy she shewed when any of them married or thought of getting married. When Leicester eventually married Lettice Devereux he was sent practically to prison, and narrowly escaped a cell in the Tower, while she was banished from the court. When Raleigh, aged forty, was rash enough to marry young Elizabeth Throgmorton, he was sent to the Tower, though Queen Elizabeth was fifty-nine years old.

Of Elizabeth's personal meanness, how she starved her fleet, how she broke Hatton's heart by insisting on the repayment of money, how she quietly sold up Leicester's and Walsingham's properties after their deaths; of her extreme vanity,⁸ how she owned three thousand dresses, but bullied her maids of honor if they emulated her splendour, and of her other bad qualities, one might write pages; but they would have but slight bearing on her connection with the crime we are investigating, except to shew how false and undeserved is the high character⁹ which has been stereotyped for her by most historians.

⁷ Naunton, p. 93, says of Hatton that he was "a mere vegetable of the court that sprang up at night and sunk again in his noon."

As to the general reputation of Elizabeth see Naunton in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 5, where he says that "the whole course of her government . . . was . . . noted *but with one stain or taint*." The editor of this edition (1824) chooses to consider this the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. *Sed quare*. This "conclusion" (p. 151) in which he says "how easily I might have dashed in too much of the strain of pollution" gives us a clearer idea of what he really thought.

⁸ Melville's report of his long interview with her, and how she fished for compliments, is most amusing.

⁹ I am informed that a Latin work by Elizabeth has recently been found at the Public Record Office, of which the Latinity is terribly bad.

Nor, indeed, is it necessary for our purpose for us to make up our minds definitely as to whether she was guilty of actual immorality with either Leicester or Hatton. She may have been many times on the very brink of sin, and never have plunged into it.¹ Her desire, her anticipation, would have supplied the inducement for the murder to a vain man like Leicester, as much if not more than an actual consummation would have done.

But I contend that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, from the evidence printed in the foregoing pages, either that Elizabeth knew that her rival's murder was being contemplated, and did not interfere to prevent it—in which case she was an accessory before the fact—or that she must after the event have guessed, for she was no fool, that murder had been done to facilitate Leicester's plans, in which case she was, in effect, an accessory after the fact.

CHAPTER III.

What do we know about the Earl of Leicester?

"Here lyes the noble Warryor that never blunted sword,
Here lyes the noble Courtier that never kept his word,
Here lyes his Excellency that governed all the State,
Here lyes the Lord of Leicester *that all the world did hate.*"²

As we have said of Elizabeth, so we may truly say of Leicester³—he came from a bad stock.⁴ His grandfather was the Dudley of the infamous firm of Empson and Dudley.

¹ This view is supported in the very able article on "Queen Elizabeth and her Favourites" in the *Quarterly Review* of 1854, pp. 240-1. Elizabeth's entire innocence is argued at great length but little force in *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. xlviii. pp. 371 and 489.

² Ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh, *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, v. p. 109.

³ For convenience sake I call him Leicester throughout.

⁴ His pedigree was deduced, by courtly heralds, from the great family of Dudley; but others have doubted this, I think with reason.

His aunt Elizabeth's eldest son (Charles, Lord Stourton) was a murderer, and was hung for one of the most cowardly murders ever perpetrated.⁵ His father was accused of shortening the life of Edward VI. by poison.

Himself the son and grandson of traitors who both had suffered on the scaffold, he had followed in their footsteps before he was a man; for whether or not his father had helped the scholar-king to his quiet grave, Dudley himself was one of those who immediately tried to turn his death to profit by joining in Lady Jane Grey's rebellion; for his share in which he was sentenced to death as a traitor.

Early in life his ambition was so high that the Privy Council had to warn him against giving liveries like the King of Spain's.

Directly Elizabeth, who is said to have been brought up with him, came to the throne, she made him Master of her Horse and a Knight of the Garter. There was a rule in the Statutes of that Order that candidates for it must be "Knights without reproach." He had been attainted for treason, and this seemed a fatal obstacle to his elevation; but the Queen persuaded the Chapter to specially vary their rules to meet his case.

He had married Amy Robsart in 1550, eight years before, but had had no children by her. She had been, as far as we know, a good wife to him. When he was in prison she came to him; and one of the scraps we have about her shows that she managed his estate in his absence. For some time before her death she was living apart from him in the country—whether of her free will or because the Queen was jealous of her, just as she afterwards was of Lettice Devereux, and had similarly banished her from the court, no one is now likely to find out.

In April, 1559, rumours began to be spread that his wife

⁵ He was hung at Salisbury in 1557.

was sick, and that Elizabeth would marry him if she died. These rumours were persistently continued to the day of her death. Other rumours were rife as to the existence of improper intimacy between him and Elizabeth. Whether these rumours were true need not here be discussed; but that they existed before Amy's death cannot be doubted for a moment.

It was said Amy had a cancer, that she was to be divorced, that she feared poison, and so on. She was moved to a large lonely house at Cumnor near Oxford, which one of Leicester's retainers had recently hired of the Queen's physician. She prayed God nightly to be delivered from desperation—which is not to be wondered at if she had heard the rumours she was to be poisoned; and found herself moved to the house of the physician of her who was her rival. One Sunday (8th September, 1560), when all her own servants are away (we are told they were sent away by her!), she is found dead at the foot of a staircase in Cumnor Hall. Foul play, it is admitted on all hands, was immediately suspected. The jury are a long while finding a verdict of accidental death. The return of the coroner or the depositions have never been found. Leicester never stirs from the Court, but sends a cousin to arrange matters, and afterwards gives his wife a splendid funeral. It is said she had been hastily buried at Cumnor, and disinterred to disarm suspicion. The parish register, which might have corroborated this, is missing.

A Puritan divine of note boldly writes to the Privy Council that there was a grievous and dangerous suspicion and muttering as to Amy's death, and asking for further enquiry. The register of the Privy Council for this very period is missing, though the volumes before and afterwards are perfect.

Immediately after Amy's death the rumours of Leicester's approaching marriage to the Queen gain redoubled force. The day the news of her death reached London Cecil wrote

to Randolph with such and the like rumours. The Spanish Ambassador wrote home on the same day to the same effect. Killigrew had heard all about it; so had Throgmorton; and, in fact, so had every one. Throgmorton, our ambassador at Paris, wrote to Cecil that England would be ruined if the Queen so foully forgot herself as to marry Leicester. Unless he believed that she actually wished to do so, can it be supposed he would have dared to risk his neck by writing such a letter. What Cecil's own opinion was on the subject, we know well enough from his notes.

Later on, I think, I shall show that there is no doubt that Elizabeth long seriously entertained the idea of marrying Leicester. There was but a poor chance of Leicester getting a divorce from a blameless wife, so the motive of the crime which was apparently to lead to so splendid a reward is clear enough.

Though it so happened that he never obtained the prize itself, rewards were showered on him by Elizabeth almost immediately after Amy's death: an annuity of £1000, the Lieutenancy and Constableness of Windsor Castle and Forest, various remunerative patents, the Lordship and Castle of Kenilworth (on which he is said to have *spent* £60,000), and the Earldom of Leicester followed rapidly. Nor, except during the zenith of Hatton's favouritism, did the royal bounty ever cease during his life.⁶

The question of course will occur to every one—why and for what were these enormous bounties given? It could not be for rewards for statesmanlike successes, for he never succeeded in matters of public policy, and indeed Cecil, Throgmorton, and others who did, went comparatively empty handed.

It may be asked, what was the general character of the man? Possibly this one death was a coincidence only, and

⁶ See Appendix XV.

possibly these great gifts were a reward for high worth and general amiability.

Let us therefore look at Leicester's general character. It is noteworthy that none of his cotemporaries have a good word to say of him, while as to recent searchers after historical truth, one cannot altogether ignore the conclusions arrived at by independent witnesses who have not had in their minds the present enquiry. One of such is John Bruce, F.S.A., the Treasurer of the Camden Society; who in his introduction to the *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, during his Government of the Low Countries*, London, 1844, says (xlii.), "To fall out of favour with Leicester was to become the object of his unsparing abuse, and if in his power, of vindictive persecution." Again, he refers (xliii.) to Leicester's "tenacious hatred" of the Earl of Sussex; "John," he says, "is right the late Earl of Sussex's son; he will so dissemble, so crouch, and so cunningly carry his doings as no man living would imagine that there were half the malice or vindictive mind that doth plainly his deeds prove to be." At p. xlv. Mr. Bruce sums up that his letters "manifest a violent, ill-regulated temper, an unprincipled recklessness as to means, a harsh revengeful spirit which might be hurried by circumstances into the commission of the very worst of those crimes which have been popularly attributed to Leicester."

We know what Cecil thought of him, and how he says of him "in friendship none, in reputation hated of many;" but of the independent evidence of the cotemporary bad reputation⁷ of Leicester, one sample may suffice. The Lord Chamberlain said that "if he should commit to prison every one who spoke evil of Leicester he should make as many

⁷ Nor was the next generation more inclined to him. Camden the antiquary, in his *History of Elizabeth*, though he could not have been wronged by him, is as bitter as possible on him.

prisons in London as there were dwelling-houses.”—*Mannington’s Diary*, Camden Society, p. 137.

That he was a man of loose and lascivious life there is no doubt, as he acknowledged his bastard son.

Naunton, who had every opportunity of knowing the truth, says (p. 40) that he is reported “to have died by that poison which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artist,” and goes on to say, “I fear he was too well seen in the aphorisms and principles of Nicholas the Florentine [*Machiavelli*] and in the teaching of Cæsar Borgia.”

It may here be convenient to note what poisonings have been attributed to Leicester by the author of *Leicester’s Commonwealth* and others.

In 1571 SIR NICHOLAS THROGMORTON was at supper in Leicester’s house when “he was seized in a most violent manner by an imposthumption in his lungs, and died within a few days, but not without suspicion of poison.”—Camden’s *History of Queen Elizabeth*, ii. p. 152. The author of the *Commonwealth* says that Leicester was called away from table to attend the court, and made Sir Nicholas take his place, and therein to be served as he was, “and soon after by a surfeit there taken he died of a strange incurable vomit. But the day before his death he declared to a great friend of his all the circumstances and causes of his disease, which he affirmed plainly to be poison given him in a sallet at supper, inveighing most earnestly against the Earl’s cruel and bloody disposition, affirming him to be the wickedest, most perilous, and perfidious man under heaven.”

In a *Life* in verse of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton (Harl. MS. 6353-1, 229 stanzas of six lines), after speaking of a reconciliation between him and the Earl of Leicester, the writer says—

“Who so believes a foe late reconciled
Is for the most part spitefully beguiled.”

Now Throgmorton, we know, in 1560, was hinting suspicion and doubts to Cecil. He afterwards goes over to Leicester, and becomes intimate with him, with the ultimate result of dying suddenly in his old enemy's house, as we learn from a letter of Leicester himself, in which he says, "We have lost on Monday our good friend Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who died in my house, being there taken suddenly in great extremity on Tuesday before. His lungs were perished, but a sudden cold he had taken was the cause of his speedy death."

LORD SHEFFIELD. His wife is said to have been a favourite of Leicester's, and to "have had the same fortune to have her husband die quickly with an extreme rheum in his head (as it was given out) but as others say with an artificial catharr that stopped his breath."⁸

There seems little reason to doubt that Leicester was criminally intimate with her. He is said to have married her privately. She was Douglas, daughter of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, and some say⁹ that she herself had some ill potions given her, so that she hardly escaped death with the loss of her hair and nails.

WALTER DEVEREUX,¹ Earl of Essex, died 22nd September, 1576.

He had been serving in Ireland with distinguished success, when he was recalled to the court, it is said at the instance of Leicester, against whom he is said to have expressed his resentment too eagerly. He was then sent back again to Ireland, with the empty title of Earl Marshal of Ireland, and shortly afterwards our author states that "when he was coming home with intent to revenge himself

⁸ The *Memoirs of Gervase Holles* speak of his being poisoned in London by an Italian physician.

⁹ Dugdale.

¹ Earl of Essex, father of Robert Devereux the favourite, exiled 1601.

upon my Lord of Leicester, for begetting his wife with child in his absence . . . my Lord of Leicester hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputy, and among others a couple of the Earl's own servants, Compton (if I miss not his name) yeoman of his bottles, and Godwick Lloyd, his secretary, entertained afterwards by my Lord of Leicester; and so he died by the way, of an extreme flux, caused by an *Italian* receipt (as all his friends are well assured), the maker whereof was a surgeon (as is believed) that then was newly come to my Lord from Italy; a cunning man and sure in operation."

" . . . It was my chance to come to the understanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one Lea an Irishman, Robin Homines, and others, who were present at Dentheu's house, the merchant at Dublin, upon the Key, where this horrible murder was committed.

"The matter was wrought especially by Compton, yeoman of the bottles, and by the procurement of Godwick Lloyd . . . and there was poisoned at the same time and with the same cup (as given of courtesie by the Earl), one Mrs. Alice Drakott, a godly gentlewoman whom the Earl affectioned much, who, departing thence towards her own house, which was 18 miles off, . . . began to fall sick very grievously upon the way, and continued with increase of pains and excessive torment, by vomiting until she died, which was the Sunday before the Earl's death, ensuing the Friday after; and when she was dead her body was swollen into a monstrous bigness and deformity, &c."

The writer goes on to say that Robin Homines the page, who in ordinary course tasted the cup, slightly, was also taken ill, but escaped with the loss of his hair.

Devereux's body was opened,² which points to an immediate

² See Sir Henry Sidney's letter to the Council.

suspicion of poisoning, and Sidney's letter to the Council, denying that he was poisoned, admits "that his cupbearer was falsely accused of intermingling poison with his wine." Anyhow, Leicester secretly married³ his widow, and is said to have assassinated *Mons. Simier* for discovering the marriage to the Queen. It is singular that the insulting letter of Mary of Scots accuses Elizabeth of improper intimacy with Simier.—*Life of Hatton*, p. 15.

Again, for the same reason, he is said to have murdered Cardinal Chatillian, the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, saying, p. 32:—

"CARDINAL CHATILIAN (as I have said before), having accused the Lord of Leicester to the Queen's Majesty about the marriage, and after passing from London towards France, died by the way at Canterbury of a burning fever."

THOMAS RATCLIFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX, one of the most honest men of the day, frequently said "that Leicester's covetousness and his other vices were intolerable; that he had more authority with the Queen than all the rest of the nobility . . . that his pride, laziness, luxury, and dissolute manners were not to be borne, and there was hardly a good man in the nation who was not, in his heart, convinced of the truth of all this, and did not wish to see this ill man humbled."

On 9th of June, 1583, he died suddenly at his house at Bermondsey, and is reported to have said to his friends on his deathbed,⁴ "beware of the Gypsie, for he will be too hard for you all: you know not the Beast as well as I do."

"LADY LENOX (p. 37), who was also of the Blood Royal of Scotland, as all men know, and therefore little liked by Leicester," is said to have been visited a little before her

³ Some say at once, others on 21st September, 1578.

⁴ Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 49.

death by him; "but as soon as he was departed the good lady fell into such a flux as by no means could be stayed so long as she had life in her body." The writer goes on to say that she suspected him herself.⁵

Of course, all these seven accusations may have been untrue; but the facts that the seven alleged victims died suddenly under circumstances of grave suspicion cannot be denied, and the gist of the accusation is pithily summed up by the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth* (p. 30) thus:—"His lordship had a special fortune that when he desired any woman's favour, then what person soever standeth in his way hath the luck to die quickly."

There must be a limit to a man's fair "luck," and if it appears that whoever stood seriously in his way, whether in politics or war, conveniently dies, we can only come to the conclusion they were artificially removed. If a series of sudden deaths happen which fit in with one man's desires and interests, surely one cannot believe them all to have been accidents.

"Many fell in his time," saith a great man of that age, "who saw not the hand that pulled them down; and as many died that knew not their own disease."⁶ He would not trust his familiars above one year,⁷ but either transported them to foreign service or wafted them to another world."

⁵ Among other crimes attributed to Leicester, are the attempted assassination of the Earl of Ormond, the cruel judicial murder of Arden of Warwickshire, nominally for treason, but really because he objected to him for his adultery and other crimes, and had openly defamed him as an upstart;" and the alleged conspiracy to kill Mary of Scots in prison. He is said to have sent a casuist with a case of conscience to Walsingham to satisfy him of the moral expediency of ridding the State of her by an Italian philtre (Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, 1840, ii. p. 315), and that the plot was thwarted by Sir Drew Drury, her keeper.

⁶ Bohun's *Full Account of the Character of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 83.

⁷ To give the devil his due, this seems untrue. See the cases of Verney and Blunt.

We now pass to the enquiry who were, or might have been, his instruments in these poisonings.⁸

We hear first of SALVADOR, the Italian chemist,⁹ who was succeeded by

DR. JULIO, the Italian physician, so frequently mentioned in the *Commonwealth*, e.g., at p. 96, where it is said Leicester quarrelled with the Archbishop of Canterbury, because he condemned the Doctor's unlawful marriage with another man's wife; and at p. 29, where it is said Leicester procured a dispensation for him to have two wives at once.

I find a Dr. Julio, no doubt the same man, sent by Cecil to Lord Mountjoy in May, 1566, at Poole, when the latter was apparently busy with mineral copperas and alum works.—Domestic State Papers.

In 1573 he was attending Sir Christopher Hatton by the Queen's orders (*Nicholas' Memoirs*.) I have heard it suggested that he was identical with Dr. Cæsar next mentioned, who had a son *Julius*, but it is obvious that this is not the case, from Dr. Dee writing simultaneously to Dr. Cæsar and Dr. Julio.—*Dee's Diary* in 1597, p. 60.

⁸ That the dread of secret poisoning was rife in the reign of Elizabeth could be proved abundantly. One or two references, however, will suffice here. On the 27th January, 1572, one Richard Bexley writes to Burghley, advising him not to take any physic of Dr. Gyfford, recently from Rome, lest he might be "Italianated" (Dom. S. P., Eliz., lxxxv., No. 27), which shows that a phrase had actually been coined to express "secret poisoning." Again, in 1569, Sir Henry Nevill writes that the Duke of Norfolk will appoint no other than his own man "at the filling of his flagons" (ib. lxi., No. 2.) Lopez's attempt to poison the Queen is well known.

As early as 1561 it had become necessary to surround the Queen with precautions against poison. Not an untasted dish might be brought to her table, not a glove or a handkerchief might approach her person which had not been scrutinized, and she was dosed weekly with supposed antidotes.—Minutes for the Queen's person, Burghley Papers.

⁹ Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, 1840, ii. p. 315.

DR. CÆSAR, or Cæsar Dalmare, or Cæsar Adelmars, was Physician to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, and son of Peter and Maria Dalmarius.—Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*.

This Cæsar is said to have come to England in 1550 (Foss), and see pedigree in Burke's *Commoners*, ii. p. 18, and in Le Neve's *Pedigrees of Knights*, Harl. Soc. Pub. p. 88.

In the 2nd Elizabeth (1559-60) we find a license to assign to him a messuage in Bishopgate, late the Priory of St. Helen.—Orig. 2nd Elizabeth, 1st part. From the 9th Elizabeth to his death he received a pension of £50 per annum from the Crown.—Pell. Off. Issue Rolls.

He died in 1569, and had been head of the medical department to Queen Elizabeth, who gave him some beneficial leases under the Crown (Foss), and see Orig. 10th Elizabeth, 2nd part.

There was however another Cæsar, an Italian surgeon with whom Leicester had several transactions, living in 1586,¹ and the reference I have found to him is the most startling and unexpected corroboration of the *Commonwealth* writer's statements.

It occurs in the *Leicester Correspondence* (Cam. Soc., p. 409), in a letter from Leicester to Walsingham, dated 4th September, 1586, written when the Earl was in the Low Countries, and the passage runs thus:—"I received a

¹ For a report of Dr. Cæsar, dated 1590, see Rep. Hist. MSS. Commission, pp. 264, 270, 272, 286 *bis*, and 408. A Dr. Cæsar was, in November, 1597, in communication with *Dr. Julio* and Dr. Dee; Dr. Dee himself, nearly twenty years (1578) before, had been sent abroad on the Queen's service, by the Earl of Leicester (*Dee's Diary*, Cam. Soc. p. 5.) What service could this have been? Another *Cæsar* was Henry Cæsar, who, on the 9th December, 1588, writes from Paris to Walsingham. He was apparently a spy, sent over there four years ago.—Domestic State Papers, addenda, 1588.

letter from Sir Edward Stafford, wherein he doth give me warning of one Cæsar, an Italian, that is gone into England, and doth mean to come over to me for some mischief. By his description, it should be a surgeon, for there are two Italians, both surgeons, and both their names Cæsars, and be both of Rome and *very villains, yet they found great favour of me in England.*² If it be either of them, as he saith this man confessed he served me, it were not amiss he and his companion were stayed there, or else, if they desire earnestly to come over to me, give me warning, and write your letters by them to me, *and then I will handle them well enough here;* in the meantime, if they linger there, for fear of Her Majesty, clap them up, *for she is their principal mark."*

It is curious that Leicester himself is said by some to have been poisoned by accident (*Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, ix. p. 354), and by others, by his Countess Lettice, widow of the Earl of Essex, to cover an intrigue with Christopher Blunt, gentleman of Leicester's Horse, see *Athen. Oxon.*, ii. col. 74 and 75.

So much for Leicester and his life. I think few will deny that he was such a man as would not let any sentimental scruples stand in the way of his advancement, if he could profit by a crime committed on his behalf, without being detected in a share of it.

The best possible view of the case for him would be that some impetuous follower had too aptly studied the story of Becket, but the surroundings of his life and the shadows of his other crimes seem to me to prevent the acceptance of this theory.

² Cool, to say the least of it !

CHAPTER IV.

A Summary.

I have now to summarize what I have collected in the former chapters. What is it that they disclose?

On the one hand, a young Queen, low born on her mother's side, with a strain of madness in her blood, the daughter of either a mother who was the vilest woman who ever lived, or of a father who was a cruel murderer (according to which view you like to take—*one* must be true)—a Queen who, as a girl, permitted liberties and indecencies of a gross character—and who is first cousin to the abandoned Catherine Howard—brought up from her youth on terms of intimacy with a handsome intriguing man—a woman who allows herself to be addressed by her favourites in strains of hot passion, not courtly compliment, and who to the end of a long life is childishly vain, mean, cruel, and vacillating.

On the other hand, a man with villainy and conspiracy in his blood,—the son and grandson of men beheaded for treason, and himself a traitor before his beard was grown. A man who employs Italian “physicians,” and who has the singular good luck to have his wife and his enemies die off like rotten sheep just at the times which suit him best. A man admittedly immoral to the last degree, and who acknowledges that he employs “very villains,” whom he wants to get hold of very much indeed when they afterwards threaten him. A man hated by all,³ who, like his enemies, dies too suddenly for nature.

Of the pair scandal is rife long before Amy's death, and

³ “In friendship *none* but such as shall have of the Queen. In reputation *hated of many*,” says Cecil.—Froude, vi. p. 425.

continues long after. Their marriage is rumoured everywhere. The death of the woman who stops it is foretold. She is to die of poison, of cancer, of this, that, and the other. She is known to pray God in her need to deliver her from desperation. She does die just at the critical time, and no man can say he saw her death; but it was a violent one, and the explanation given is an extremely improbable one.

Her husband, with whom his defenders tell us she lived so happily and pleasantly, is within a few miles of her when he hears the news. He must have known the occurrence was of the highest possible importance to himself for good or evil; but, instead of himself hastening to the spot, he sends his cousin Blount to enquire into the matter. He dared not look at his dead wife's white face.

The cousin is to go to the coroner and specially charge him about the choice of the jury. It is true that on the face of his instructions he is told to ask for the most discreet and substantial men; but what must the coroner have thought as he read between the lines that the favourite Dudley was interesting himself in the choice of the jury? Is it not a broad hint that a jury is to be packed who will at all events not be unfriendly to Dudley?

When the jury is chosen we find Blount writing that he is to meet one or two of them at Abingdon, and Dudley telling him in reply that he has received a letter from Smith, their foreman, but that as to him and the rest he means "no more" to deal with them. Can we believe that a jury thus tampered with by a queen's favourite would give an honest verdict?

We must now examine the direct evidence that the Queen intended to marry Dudley (1) at a time when he was notoriously a married man, and (2) shortly after he had become a widower. If she contemplated the former

alternative I think there can be little doubt that she was an accessory before the fact of the murder.

The evidence on this first point is solely that of the Spanish Ambassador, De Quadra, as contained in his letters home, of January, 7th March, and 27th March, 1560. If it is true it is strong enough to criminate Elizabeth, for, after showing that there were rumours in that January it was easy to recognize in Lord Robert the King that was to be, and that the Queen would marry none but him, he writes that on the 3rd of September he had a conversation with Cecil (cited before, p. 8) in which he had said that "they" were thinking of destroying Lord Robert's wife, and that on the day after this conversation *the Queen had told him Lord Robert's wife was dead, or nearly so, and begged him to say nothing about it.* Now this would be on the 4th, four days before the murder!

De Quadra's letter is dated on the 11th, so of course the whole thing *may* have been a fabrication; but I will defer the consideration of this, and of the probability of his evidence generally till I have summed up the evidence on the second point, viz., did Elizabeth seriously contemplate marrying Dudley very shortly after the murder?

Here, again, our chief witness is De Quadra, but on this point he is luckily corroborated in many ways, a fact which should increase the credibility of his evidence on the first point, for it is hardly a less monstrous thing for a Queen to think of marrying a subject immediately after his wife's death than to imagine the possibility before her death.

The first to speak is Gonzalez, who says (p. 12) that Elizabeth publicly announced her resolution shortly to marry Leicester. Next we get Throgmorton, who writes from Paris on the 28th October about the rumours as to the marriage of the Queen, and earnestly advises against it. Ambassadors don't write home to prime ministers in this strain without

good reason. Besides, it is clear from his letter he has been asked for his advice on the proposed marriage.

Most important of all is Jones' letter to Throgmorton of the 30th November (p. 18), reporting his interviews with Killigrew and the Queen. The former told him, "with a sad look," that he verily thought that Lord Robert should run away with the hare and have the Queen; and the latter strenuously defended her favourite from the accusation of his wife's murder.

But it is from De Quadra's letters that we get the most information. On the 22nd January (p. 20) he says, Sir Henry Sidney⁴ (Dudley's brother-in-law) called on him and asked for the Spanish co-operation as to the marriage, saying that the Queen was very anxious for it. On the 13th February, 1561 (p. 21), he writes as to an interview with Elizabeth herself, in which she said she had a strong regard for Lord Robert, and thought her own people would like to see her married to an Englishman. Again, on the 30th June, he writes about an interview, at which the Queen, Dudley, and he were present, at which the proposed marriage was openly spoken about.

Of course it will be said that De Quadra was a notorious liar, and that his despatches home are too absurd to be believed. But though he may have lied like a diplomatist or a dentist in the interests of his country, it has never been suggested that he lied to his employer. He seems to have been a faithful, if unscrupulous, man; and it is ridiculous to suppose that he would, for no possible reason, invent these stories for the benefit of Philip. The risk of detection would have been great, the punishment prompt and severe, and the object—nothing. It might certainly be suggested that the calumnies were invented, and sent home to Spain for the

⁴ The warm, if weak, championship of Dudley by Sidney, against the charges made against him in *Leicester's Commonwealth*, must not be forgotten.

purpose of vilifying a Protestant queen.* But there is no trace that they were ever even shown to anyone; and they seemed to have slept among the archives of the Simancas till quite the other day.

Again, it will be said that it is highly unlikely that the Queen would have these *tête à tête* confidential interviews with a foreign ambassador; but here we are met with the distinct statement of Cecil, on 15th July (p. 22), that De Quadra's credit with the Queen was increasing, and that there were secrets between them which he could not penetrate, only he knew that De Quadra seemed to seek, by all means overt and covert, to further the marriage.

But it is not De Quadra alone who speaks as to the Queen's wish to marry Dudley. Later on, Melville, the Scotch Ambassador, writes⁵ that she told him that she would have married Dudley herself had she been able; and De Silva (De Quadra's successor), about the same time, the autumn of 1564, writes⁶ that "again and again she has said to me, 'I am insulted both in England and abroad, for having shown more favour than I ought to have done to the Lord Robert,' and that Lord Robert had been with him, saying that the Queen had put off their marriage so long that he had begun to fear she would never marry him at all." Again, Elizabeth said to De Foix, in 1565, that she could have loved Leicester, but her subjects objected, and she was bound to consult their wishes.⁷ There seems, therefore, very little reason to doubt that Elizabeth did, indecently soon after her favourite became a widower, seriously intend to marry him.

Now comes the question, *who* arranged the murder? The writer of *Leicester's Commonwealth* accuses Varney and Forster. Of course, no tittle of direct evidence can be

⁵ Froude, vii. p. 213, and see Melville, p. 119, for another interview to the same effect.

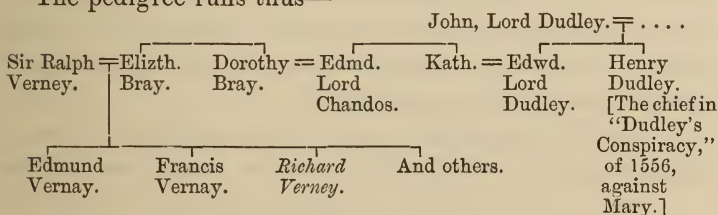
⁶ Id. p. 217—219. ⁷ Id. vii. p. 209.

adduced at this length of time, if, indeed, it ever could have been, for the perpetrators, no doubt, took care there should be none; but let us consider if there are any improbabilities in the accusation, who the two accused men were, and if they can be connected in any way with Leicester.

RICHARD VARNEY,⁸ or Verney, is said to have been Leicester's page, and no doubt is the same man as the "Vernay" who came in for some of the clothes of the Earl of Warwick when that unhappy nobleman was spoiled by the Dudleys in 1550.

It has been assumed that the Verney of the murder was the *Sir Richard Verney*, the head of a well-known Warwickshire family, as has been thought by Adlard and Canon Jackson. But this cannot be, for we find him alive long after the knight's death on 26th July, 1567. Nor on the pedigree of the Warwickshire Verneys is there any other *Richard*. But the confusion has arisen from Leicester knowing two families of Verney. There was another well-known family of Verneys of Bucks and Herts,⁹ not only connected with the Dudleys by marriage, but disastrously connected with them in dangerous enterprises.

The pedigree runs thus—



Again, in the *Verney Papers*, p. 60, n., it is said that John Dudley, who is buried in Stoke Newington Church, married a connection of the Verneys.

One of the three sons—Francis Verney—was tried for

⁸ Bartlett and Pettigrew boldly doubted his existence, and seemed to think him a creation of Sir Walter Scott's.

See the *Verney Papers* (Camden Soc.)

his share in Henry Dudley's conspiracy of 1556.¹ He had been Elizabeth's own servant² when she was in charge of Bedingfeld at Woodstock, was accused of tampering with a letter, and altogether was decidedly a *mauvais sujet*, for it was said of him that if there were any practice of ill within all England he would be privy to it. Another of the three brothers—Edmund Verney—was also concerned in the same conspiracy.³ Can it be doubted that the third brother, Richard, of whom nothing is known, was the Richard Verney, Dudley's confidential servant?

In 1559 we find *Sir Richard Verney's* servant going on an errand to Amy for Dudley, and himself recommended to Dudley as a Commissioner for Warwickshire.⁴

In 1560 "Richard Verney"—whether the knight or his namesake is doubtful (though I think the sequence shows it was the latter) writes⁵ on the 20th April to Dudley that he cannot come to him at once as requested, but that he *and his* "shall always be to his best power advanced in any your affair or commandment when opportunity offereth."

What was it he was wanted for? We only know that the Spanish Ambassador, exactly a month before, wrote⁶ to his master that "Lord Robert says that if he lives a year he will be in another position from that which he at present holds. Every day he presumes more, and it is now said that he means to divorce his wife."

On the 8th September next Amy is murdered. Among those who were admittedly⁷ in the house was a Mrs.

¹ He was fourth son of Sir Ralph Verney.—*Trans. Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.* iv. p. 177, and see pp. 187, 194.

² Did Dudley recommend him for the berth?

³ And see Dom. S. P., Mary, viii. No. 77.

⁴ *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1882, p. 418.

⁵ G, drawer 9, at Longleat.

⁶ Froude, vi. p. 340.

⁷ See Blount's second letter to Dudley.

Odingsells,⁸ who is incriminated by the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth*. Considerable search has enabled me to ascertain that Anne, *Sir* Richard Verney's aunt, married Edward Odingsells. What was Mrs. Anne Odingsells doing at Cumnor in 1560 in the house with Dudley's steward (Forster) and Dudley's wife Amy?

In 1562⁹ (4th Elizabeth) one of the Richard Verneys is made Sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, the former county being that in which the murder was committed, and so placed in the position to suppress any unpleasant rumours. Never before was a Verney thought of sufficient importance to be sheriff of his county. The coincidence is strange.

Sir Richard Verney dies 26th July, 1567,¹ and Dudley afterwards gets a grant of the wardship of his son, about whom he wrote a letter (in his own interest!) in 1574.

On 27th December, 1566 (9th Elizabeth) a *John* Verney had a special pardon.

On 29th October, 1572 (14th Elizabeth), Richard Verney had the grant of the Marshalship of the Bench for life, having previously, on the 30th July, been made the Marshal of the Marshalsea when John Appleyard (Amy's half-brother), who had been appointed in 1564, was turned out.

It must have been convenient for Leicester to have two such men in such places with practical power over life and limb.²

Richard Verney was dead by the 15th November, 1575, on which day Leicester wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, requesting him not to fill up the place of Marshal of the King's Bench, void by the death of Mr. Verney.³

⁸ Canon Jackson calls her the sister of the Mr. Hyde, with whom Amy had formerly stopped at Denchworth.

⁹ Canon Jackson says 1561.

¹ Inq. p. m. Glouc. 9 Eliz. 134.

² A *Sir Richard* Blount was Governor of the Tower ante 1564 (Dom. S. P. xxxiv. No. 47.) Was he a relative of Thos. Blount, Leicester's "cousin?"

³ Dom. S. P. cv. No. 75. As to a bond for good behaviour entered into at his request see *id.* c. vii. No. 93.

So much for Verney or Varney.

Now about ANTONY FORSTER.

He was, admittedly, the tenant of Cumnor Place, under Dr. Owen, the Queen's physician. How long he had held it before Amy's death, why he leased it, and how it was that he became in a position to buy the freehold of the house the year after Amy's death, are questions not likely to be easily answered now.

He was Dudley's Receiver and Controller, and in 1572 was M.P. for Abingdon.

Canon Jackson says⁴ that "he was highly esteemed as a most honest gentleman by his neighbours at Abingdon," forgetting that Blount, in his letter to Dudley shortly after the murder, refers to some of the jury being "very enemies to Anthony Forster," and to "malice to Forster" being a special inducement to the coroner's jury to enquire closely into the matter, no doubt to see if they could incriminate him.

That Forster had business dealings with the Odingsells and Butlers, who are also accused of complicity in the murder, I have ascertained from searches in the Public Record Office.⁵ He bought Cumnor of Owen shortly after Amy's death, but did so without license; and it was not till the 4th Elizabeth that he had a "pardon" for doing so. I do not know whether anything turns on this, or whether the purchase was kept secret till the murder blew over. In the 6th Elizabeth Forster had (in conjunction with William Gryce) large grants of land in Derbyshire and fourteen other counties, which I believe were late the possessions of the Priory of Pentney in Norfolk.⁶

⁴ *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1882.

⁵ Pat. Roll, 2nd Elizabeth, 11th part; Close Roll, 3rd Elizabeth, 10th part; Orig. Roll, 4th Elizabeth, 1st part; Close Roll, 7th Elizabeth, 1st part.

⁶ Pat. Roll, 6th Elizabeth, 4th part; Orig., 6th Elizabeth, 3rd part; Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ix. p. 498.

Canon Jackson says⁷ that Forster died in 1569; but on the same page refers to his being returned to Parliament in 1572, for Abingdon. He really died shortly before 10th November, 1572,⁸ on which day he was buried. It is very singular that by his will he gave the right to buy Cumnor to Leicester, who is said to have duly exercised it, and became the owner.⁹

A word or two about Cumnor Hall will be in place here. Amy was removed to it a year or so before her death. The anonymous denouncer says her life was first tried, but unsuccessfully, with poison. To whom did the Hall then belong? To Dr. Owen, *the Queen's physician*, whose wife stayed in the house at and before Amy's death!

The next question is—is there any proof that those who are accused by the anonymous writer of complicity with the crime, or those who winked at it, received any undue favours or rewards from Leicester after it was over? Cecil obviously thought they did, for in his celebrated parallel-column comparison of the relative merits and demerits of Leicester and the Prince of Austria,¹ he points out that Leicester would enhance his particular friends to wealth, to office, and to lands, and mentions (*i.a.*) Forster and Appleyard.

As to *Forster*, we have seen that immediately after the murder he was able to buy Cumnor, and that four years later he had large grants of priory lands, and that he was so far advanced in the world as to become a Member of Parliament. He also had a lease of Whitley Leaze, Berks, as appears by his will.

⁷ *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1882, p. 419.

⁸ *Pettigrew Inquiry*, p. 21; and see Orig., 15th Elizabeth, 2nd part, mem. 154, for a general livery of his land to his son Giles.

⁹ *Sed quere*. I find another Antony Forster selling the manor in 36th Elizabeth.—Pat. 36th Elizabeth, 18th part.

¹ Froude, vii. p. 427 (1566), where Cecil talks of Dudley being “infamed by the death of his wife.”

As to *Appleyard*, Amy's half-brother, who was at her inquest, and who, in after years, said he covered her death for Leicester's sake. He is also noticed by Cecil as being a special object of Leicester's bounty. This is borne out by his examination (see Appendix III), which admits that he had a commission under the Great Seal to seize concealed prizes, and the Portership of Berwick,¹ and that the Earl had become bound for him for a debt of £400, and procured him to be made Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, "to gain him credit and countenance." In 1564 he was acting as Keeper of the Marshalsea.² I find that he also had a beneficial lease from the Queen, in 1565, of the rectories of Brustwicke and Skekeling in Yorkshire (which was renewed to him in 1582),³ and another beneficial lease of the Manor Place at Frothingham, York.⁴

Mrs. Odingsells. I find no direct grant to her; but *Henry Odingsells*, in 1561 (the year after the murder), had a beneficial lease, from the Queen, of the rectory of Lullington in Derbyshire.⁵ Henry Odingsells and another had a beneficial lease from the Queen, in 1570, of lands in Bryndeham;⁶ and Thomas Odingsells, in 1586, had a grant of the custody and marriage of Elizabeth and Margaret Faux; and in 1596⁷ a beneficial lease of the rectories of Landeley and Langwell in Pembrokeshire.⁸

Thomas Blount, on 1st February, 1560, had, with his wife,

¹ See Privy Council Books, 1564, p. 298.

² Dom. S. P., Elizabeth, xxxiv. No. 7.

³ Orig., 8th Elizabeth, 1st part, roll 29; and 25th Elizabeth, 4th part, roll 90.

⁴ Orig., 8th Elizabeth, 3rd part, roll 101; and renewed Orig., 19th Eliz., fourth part, roll 42; Orig., 25th Elizabeth, sixth part, roll 11.

⁵ Pat. Roll, 3rd Elizabeth, 8th part; orig., ib., 3rd part.

⁶ Orig., 12th Elizabeth, 1st part.

⁷ Pat. Roll, 28th Elizabeth, 7th part.

⁸ Pat. Roll, 38th Elizabeth, 4th part.

a grant of the manor of Ketheminster in Worcestershire ;⁹ on 30th December, 1560, had a grant of the custody of Thomas Lawley ;¹ on 19th February, 1566, of the custody of Patience Acton ; and on the same date, of Robert Acton.² He was also a Collector of Customs and Subsidies ;³ and in 1558-9 had the grant of an office relating to the sale of broad cloths.⁴

It is hard to identify this Thomas Blount,⁵ or to show how he was "cousin" to Dudley. He was, probably, the Thomas Blount, one of the servants of Sir John Dudley, to whom the latter granted a lease of lands formerly belonging to Halesowen Abbey, for a thousand years, at a pepper corn.⁶ A Thomas Blount was subject to a fine for not being knighted in Mary's reign, but was exonerated from it.⁷

It is very singular that we find him employed to enquire about Amy's death in 1560 ; and that in 1567, when the question of her death was being re-opened, Throgmorton writes to Leicester :—"Mr. Thomas Blownte is not yet come to this towne, so such things cannot be done by him as your will was he should have done." It would be interesting to know *what* he was wished to do, and whether it was anything with regard to Appleyard, who was then suspected of blabbing. There is no record of his death, but he was dead by 20th Elizabeth. (*See* Chancery Suit, *Robsart v. Lytelton*, in which he is referred to as deceased.)

Much later we find Morgan writing to Mary of Scots from Paris on 20th July, 1585, of "one Blunt—his father

⁹ Pat., 2nd Elizabeth, 10th part ; Orig., 2nd Elizabeth, 4th part, m. 60.

¹ Pat., 3rd Elizabeth, 4th part.

² Pat., 8th Eliz., 6th and 9th parts.

³ Pell. and Issue Rolls, Easter, 10th ; Michaelmas, 10th and 11th ; Michaelmas, 11th and 12th Elizabeth.

⁴ Pat., 11th Eliz., 2nd part.

⁵ He was trustee for Dudley in several grants from the Crown.

⁶ *Herald and Geneal.*, vi. p. 362.

⁷ Mem. Roll, 1st and 2nd Philip and Mary, rot. 81.

was kin to Leicester. This Blunt and his elder brother and their mother being all Catholics, are all forced to fawn upon Leicester to see if thereby they may live quiet, and by Leicester's means they have been more quietly handled than some others. I have warned and prayed him earnestly to deal with your son (James I.) to beware of Leicester." ⁸

I find several Blounts who may have had something to do with the man.

Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Blount of Osbaston—of a younger branch of Lord Mountjoy's family—married Sir Thomas Pope, under whose care Elizabeth was at Hatfield in 1555, when accused of complicity in Wyatt's rebellion.⁹

Another Elizabeth Blount, the only mistress of Hen. VIII., married Lord Talbois, and had a daughter Elizabeth, who married secondly Lord Ambrose Dudley, brother of Leicester himself.

Last of all we come to another relation of Amy's—her illegitimate half-brother, *Arthur Robsart*. He is said to have attended the inquest, and I can only trace him once afterwards, when he filed a chancery bill on 26th November, 20th Elizabeth, against Sir John Lytelton and George Tuckey, to protect his title to lands in Oldbury, Langley, and Walloxall in Shropshire.

It seems by his claim that the Earl of Leicester and the heirs of Dame Amy his wife conveyed the property to Robsart, but no date is given. We get the date, however, approximately from the Close Roll of 8th Elizabeth (1566), on which is enrolled a deed dated 2nd March, 1566, from John Walpole (who was Amy's heir) to Robsart, whereby Walpole sells his reversion for £350, and in which it is mentioned that Dudley was seized for life. It must have therefore been after 1566 that Dudley gave over what looks uncommonly like hush-money to Robsart.

⁸ Murd. 448-49.

⁹ Clutterbuck's *Herts*, i. p. 208.

APPENDIX I.

*Appleyard's Examination before the Privy Council.*¹

John Appleyard being examined before the Lord Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of the Queen's Majestie's Household, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, and Sir William Cecil, Knight, Her Majesty's principal Secretary, upon certain private articles concerning his communication and devices used touching the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester, amongst many other things answered, said in effect as followeth:—First, when he lay at Hampton Court with Mr. Huggins,² about one year past, one came over the water to require him to speak with a certain person on the other side the water, who amongst other speeches said to him that seeing the Earl of Leicester did him no more good, although he had deserved much at his hand, if he would be content to stir some matter against him for the death of his wife, he should find good maintenance therein and should not (want) a thousand pounds to relieve him. Whereat he answered that the Earl of Leicester was one whom he most honoured and loved of any subject in the realm, and that he would always stand with him against any person, saving the Queen, whereupon the party said he then would deal no further with him, and so went away.

Being examined why he did not stay him to the intent to compel him to utter more of the matter, he saith he went over but in his nightgown and had no weapon about him, and that the other party had a servant standing not far off.

He said the party was like a merchant man, and that he nowise knoweth nor can guess what he was nor where he dwelleth.

He saith he told this tale at (as?) an aventure to Mr. Thomas Blount, without meaning that he should make any report thereof, or that he thought it worthy to be reported to any person.

He denieth that ever he made any report or mention of the Duke of Norfolk or Earl of Suffolk to be named by the said party, for that the said party never named them two or any other person to him otherwise than as before spoke.

Item, among other things of his speeches concerning the Earl of

¹ Hatfield MSS., now first printed.

² Appleyard married the daughter of Robert Hukan of Bradenham, Norfolk.

Leicester, he said that he had received many fair promises of good turns, but he never had the fruits thereof, although he had in time of the Earl's troubles (which he specified to be in Queen Mary's time) ventured himself and all that he had to help the said Earl and his wife.

And being charged in general words that he had reward, great places, friendship and countenance by the Earl, he answered that true it was that the Earl of late time used him to send him into Ireland and to give him £100 in his purse and 100 mks. a year out of his own living, with recommendation to his Brother Sir Hy. Sidney to give him some entertainment there. But within a while afterward he saith the Earl moved him newly to go into France and to (stay?) there. Whereat he answered that he would go to any place where he should appoint him so his Lord would first set him clear out of debt, which the said Earl said he was not able to do, considering his own debts and other his burdens. So as he considered that he had nothing of the said Earl but fair promises. And yet being remembered of these places following he could not deny them:—

First, of the commission procured him under the Great Seal to (seize) in any place upon the sea concealed prizes upon his own authority without proceeding in any court to prove his title, wherein the favour shewed unto him as no man ever had of the like in this time.

Secondly, the Earl had (become) bound for him to discharge a debt of £400.

Thirdly, he obtained him the office of Portership of Berwick, and he also procured him to be made Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, to gain him credit and countenance.

Item, in his speech furthermore he said that he had oftentimes moved the Earl to give him leave and to countenance him in the prosecuting of the Trial of the Murder of his Sister, adding that he did take the Earl to be innocent thereof, and yet he thought it an easy matter to find out the offenders, affirming therewith and showing certain circumstances which moved him to think surely that she was murdered, whereunto he sayeth that the Earl always assured him that he thought it not fit to deal any further in the matter, considering that by order of Coroner it was already found otherwise, and that it was so presented by a Jury. Nevertheless the said Appleyard in his speech said upon this question that the Jury had not as yet given up their verdict.

Item, in sundry his speeches he said that he did esteem the dis-

pleasure of the Earl of Leicester towards him to come by the labouring of certain persons about him, naming sometime Mr. Horsey and sometime Mr. Christmas, and the said Earl of his own disposition was his good lord.

Item, he saith that he never made mention of any money to be given to the Earl of Pembroke or Mr. Seinber (?) for the calling in of the Commission granted to Elliott and others, but that he saith that Christmas asked him thereof, and would have had him to have confessed the same.

On back of p. 68, in Burleigh's hand :—

Tryndell, examined before the said persons and at the said time, upon sundry matters, saith that at one time he heard John Appleyard and William Huggyns of Hampton Court reasoning together concerning the producing forth of a person that declared such matter as partly is touched above to be spoken to Appleyard, and Appleyard said to Huggyns that he was sworn not to name the party, but he would point him out with his finger in his shop, and this communication was upon a letter that Appleyard wrote to the Earl of Leicester.

Item, Tryndell saith that bringing answer from the Earl of Leicester to Appleyard that he could not help him in his requests as he desired, Appleyard used words of anger, and said amongst other things that he had for the Earl's sake covered the murder of his Sister.

APPENDIX II.

DOMESTIC STATE PAPERS,³ ELIZABETH, Vol. xlii., No. 59.

Throgmorton to the Earl of Leicester, 9th May, 1567.

Mr. Coleill arrived here from your Lordship the 8th of this month, in the morning. He delivered your token. I presented your writing what time no person was present (by the Queen's order) but my Lady Knollys.⁴ Her Majesty read your letter over thrice together, and

³ Now first printed.

⁴ Lettice Knollys, the Queen's cousin, who married, first, the Earl of Essex; second, Leicester; and third, Sir Xr. Blount.

said you did mistake the Chameleon's properties, who doth change into all colours according to the object, (saffe ?) save white, which is innocency. At your cypher, the Black Jack, she showed sundry affections: some merry, some sorrowful, some betwixt both. She did much commend the manner of your writing; then she willed me to show her what your Lordship had written to me. She read my letter twice, and put it in her pocket. Then I demanded of her whether she would write to your Lordship. She plucked forth my letter and said, "I am glad at [the] length he hath confessed a fault in himself, for he asketh pardon." I said, "Madam, do you mean in your letter or mine?" "In yours," she answered. I said "that which you mean is but a conditional supposed proposition." Then she read again my letter, and said, "Sure, [it] is enough to satisfy me." "Yea," said I, "and to accuse your Majesty also." "Whereof?" said she, "Of extreme rigour," said I. Then she smiled and put up my letter. I asked again whether her Majesty would write to your Lordship. She said "I will bethink myself all this day." I do judge by Syr H. Ley she meaneth to send your Lordship a token in some message to Mr. Carie, since she hath said you have confessed at length a fault in yourself. She has taken great pleasure to read Mr. Dyer's letter sent to Mr. Cary, and namely, in the phrase where he useth the metaphor of the flax and the distaff. Things have framed so here as your lordship may say with David, "*Salutem ex inimicis nostris.*" This bearer shall tell you the circumstances and authors to make you laugh.

Yesterday Applierd and Trendall being taken discreetly by the Knight Marshall, they were before the Earl of Pembroke, Arundell, the Marquis of Herts, the Lord Admiral, and Mr. Secretary. My Lord of Pembroke desired my Lord Paget and me to frame some charge against them, for they know not how to proceed with them. We, with the advice of Mr. Lomworthe and Mr. Carie, devised four general interrogatories (cessyprogne ?) betwixt your Lordship, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Sussex, to the end, upon their answers, other particular interrogatories might be ministered unto them. Thus it fell out. Apliard with fair words of love and duty to your Lordship, uttered much malice against you; but denied all matters either touching the Duke, the Earl of Sussex, or yourself, as at any time uttered by him to your Lordship, or to any other.

Mr. Trendall confessed such matter, as it appeared to the Lords that Apliard did greatly dissemble, and did much malice your Lordship.

In the end, Applierd is committed to the Marshall's custody; for

neither might they commit him to the Tower, neither would they commit him to the Fleet—and Trendall is committed to the Gaol-house at Westminster. All the Lords did most willingly employ themselves to punish the lewd doings of this malicious fellow; and I have moved that both Applierd's and Trendall's confession might be put into writing, lest the same may be forgotten.

Now the Lords do not know what is further to be done until your Lordship's coming or advice be signified unto them.

No. 60. Another letter of same date.

"Mr. Thomas Blownte is not yet come to this towne, so as such things cannot be done by him as your will was he should have done."

APPENDIX III.

Questions put to William Huggins and others, as to John Appleyard.⁵

TO BE ANSWERED BY WILLIAM HUGGINS.

How oftentimes did John Appleyard inform you of any offers made to him to provoke him to prosecute matter against my Lord of Leicester, and what were the offers and by whom were they made, and in whose names, and what should Appleyard do or cause to be done?

Where were you when Appleyard went over the Thames to speak with one that came to move him in such a purpose?

Who came to Appleyard, in message, to move him to go over the Thames?

What time of the day was it? What day of the week? Who dined with you that day?

In what apparel was the messenger? Of what age and stature was he?

What said Appleyard to you upon the message done to him?

What advice did you give Appleyard? What did you in the meantime?

Where were you when Appleyard returned, and what said he to you?

⁵ Hatfield MSS., 155, now first printed.

How many persons did you see on the other side of the Thames with Appleyard? In what apparel? How many horses had they? How far stood they from Appleyard? Which way, east or west, or north or south?

Did Appleyard stand or walk while he conversed with them?

Similar enquiries to some one else.

¹⁵⁵/₈₃. 5. Whether did you ever say to any person that the party said that he came from the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Sussex, or from any others? 6. Whether did you swear upon a Book for anything to the party?

¹⁵⁵/₆₄. What talk have you had with the Duke of Norfolk, with the Earl of Sussex, touching or concerning the Earl of Leicester, directly or indirectly, within the space of this three years past, &c., &c.? What occasion moveth you to haunt the family and often the company of Mr. Tryndall, &c.?

[On back of ¹⁵⁵/₆₄ are short notes in Burleigh's writing, amplified hereafter in his.]

.... Richard, I pray you go to Mr. Weatherall and tell him what Evaunce is doing about mine office, and say if he will enter bond for *vjli*. Evaunce will assure over the patent to me, and I will consign the same over to him for his assurance, &c.

Your master,

JOHN APLEYARD.

APPENDIX IV.

Appleyard's Confession.⁶

Most honourable, when I consider the greatness of my faults most heinously committed, I both blush and fear to write. I blush as ashamed of my faults and fear as one condemning myself unworthy of grace at your hands, but the noble clemency I yesterday received doth somewhat abandon from me despair, although shame doth still remain, for it can not be covered, my fault being truly confessed by my own mouth in so honourable a presence. So it were before

⁶ Hatfield MSS. now first printed.

I stood in hope (by your honorable means) to her Majesty to have happened of somewhat on my relief. I now wish rather a mountain to overwhelm me and hide me from your sights, than once to dare show my spotted face in your honourable presences, for (unworthy of it) I have heretofore had place and continuance of credit and better liked of by all your honors than I could deserve, which now is so justly blemished, as I see in myself in no possibility as hereby I can have comfort in my life ever to recover your good opinions, so that when I find some hope by forgiveness the fear of shame and loss of credits and which such personages doth altogether dreuth me in despair. My faults, my Lords, which I have committed are against two noble gentlemen, such as if they had enemies, yet their enemies could no ways in honour detect them. And I a caitiff (in many respects bound to them both), have attempted against duty, love, and truth, yea, even against nature, to provoke justly their the burden whereof is so intolerable (the greatness of their estate considered), as not only in this world they terrify me, but also the account that must further towards God be made, doth even in conscience fear me, by which my senses be wholly benumbed, whereby my wisdom is in me utterly quailed, so further I consider of myself that my deserts in both worlds give me summons of a reprobate. I stand so plunged in sorrows, as yet I see small hope that can comfort me, for as mine acquaintances hath in most parts of this realm bred great knowledge of me, so (being where I am) methinks I see in myself what inquiry and what whisperings are in judging of my offences, &c., &c.

And for the matter of my sister, wherein like most noble Counsellors you have in all justice proffered me your honourable aid for execution of all such persons as I shall give in name to your honours (laying reasonable likely cause why I present them.) I find, under correction of your noble favours, my next way is to desire a copy of the verdict presented by the coroner, whereby I may see what the jury have found, and that considered (having your Lordships' favours) to take some learned advice in what sort I may best proceed or rather hope to begin the trial of the cause, for working without some learned council I may wrap myself in such errors, as whereof such dangers of law may towards myself ensue as I in rashness see not, and possibly the sight of the verdict shall fully satisfy me, so as I most humbly beseech your good Lordships (if my suit be not unlawful), I may first see that verdict and then stand at liberty (by advice of council, learned) to

proceed or not. If, my Lords, in any part of this letter I offend, I most humbly beseech your favourable pardons, for it is not either of will or arrogancy, but only of simplicity, for as in the former part of my letter I have confessed my infirmity of wit, so I know the whole will show the same.

My good Lords, I beseech you, even in the name of Christ, to be mediators for me to those noble gentlemen against whom I have so heinously trespassed, for these offences by them pardoned, I shall ever apply myself to do and say that appertaineth to nobility, and never hereafter to enter in any case that may offend, and if it may please their honours to give me leave to write to either of them one private letter, I shall be most bounden to their honours. As my health, my good Lords, is very evil, so are my charges great, for I have nothing to feed on but what I send ready money for into the Town, and surely, my Lords, I have very little, and I may not speak with any friends to help me, so that I must very shortly take what of alms the house will give me, the consideration whereof I leave to your noble and . . . wisdoms, and so with remembrance of my most bounden duty, I do pray to Almighty God for the happy preservation of your honourable estate long to endure.

From the Fleet, this present Saturday, the last of May, 1567.

Your honours' most humble prisoner,

John Appleyarde.

Appleyard's Submission 1567.

With remembrance of my most bounden duty my most singular good Lords, I received from your honours, by Mr. Warden of the Fleet, the copy of the verdict which in my other letter I humbly sued for, by whom I yesterday returned the same to your Lordships again, in which verdict I do find not only such proofs testified under the oaths of 15 persons how my late sister by misfortune happened of death, but also such manifest and plain demonstration thereof as hath fully and clearly satisfied and persuaded me and my Lords (commending her Soul to God.) I have not further say of that cause, for I have of your favours required nothing that might bring trial of her unhappy case to light, but I have in all justice received the same, yea, even with the offer of your noble assistance.

[He then proceeds to beg for mercy.]

From the Fleet, this Wednesday the 4 June, anno 1567.

APPENDIX V.

Documents relating to alleged intimacy with the Admiral.⁷

EXAMINATION OF THE MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON.

Further at one other time he [the Admiral] told me that he had heard of a wonderful thing, saying that he was credibly informed that my Lord Protector had said he would clap him in the Tower if he went to my Lady Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH TO THE PROTECTOR, 28TH JANUARY, 1548,⁸ REFERRING TO THE RUMOURS OF HER MARRIAGE WITH THE ADMIRAL.

And also I told Master Tirwit that to the effect of the matter, I never consented unto any such thing without the Council's consent thereunto . . .

Master Tirwit and others have told me that their goeth rumours abroad which be greatly both against my honour and honesty (which above all other things I esteem), which be these: that I am in the Tower, *and with child by my Lord Admiral*.⁹ My Lord, these be shameful slanders, &c.

CONFESSION OF HARRYNGTON, 2ND FEBRUARY 1548.¹

I have remembered certain words which Mistress Asley said unto me [while] the Queen [was] living at Chelsea.

She called me aside, and said she would fain that my Lord understood a matter; but she would not have it known to come of [from] her. I asked what it was. She answered [that] my Lord and the Queen came divers times into my Lady Elizabeth's chamber, which was well taken of every body; but my Lord came some time without the Queen, which of some was misliked, but of whom she would not tell me.

⁷ Burghley State Papers, p. 79.

⁸ Id. p. 89.

⁹ Is it likely that unless the freedom of her conduct had been very remarkable, such a rumour would have been abroad about a girl of under fifteen?

Certainly, for a "Virgin Queen," she had her reputation blown on as early and often as any one in England.

¹ Burghley State Papers, p. 93.

CONFESSION OF THOS. PARRY, 1548.

I do remember also she [Mrs. Ashley] told me that the Admiral loved her but too well, and had so done a good while, and that the Queen was jealous on her and him, insomuch that one time the Queen, suspecting the often access of the Admiral to the Lady Elizabeth's Grace, came suddenly upon them where they were all alone—he having her in his arms—wherefore the Queen fell out both with the Lord Admiral and with her Grace also.

CONFESSION OF KATHARINE ASHLEY, 1548.

She saith at Chelsea, incontinent after he was married to the Queen, he would come many mornings into the said Lady Elizabeth's chamber, before she were ready and sometime before she did rise. And if she were up he would bid her good morrow, and asked her how she did, and strike her upon the back or on the buttocks familiarly, and so go forth through his lodgings, and sometimes go through to the maidens and play with them, and so forth. And if she were in her bed, he would put open the curtains and bid her good morrow, and make as though he would come at her; and she would go further in the bed, so that he could not come at her. And one morning he strove to have kissed her in her bed. And this examine was there and bade him go away for shame. She knoweth not whether this were at Chelsea or Hanworth.

At Hanworth, he would likewise come in the morning unto her Grace, but as she remembers, at all times, she was up before, saving two mornings, the which two mornings the Queen came with him—and this examine lay with her Grace—and there they tickled my Lady Elizabeth in the bed, the Queen and my Lord Admiral.

Another time, at Hanworth, in the garden, he rated with her and cut her gown in a hundred pieces, being black cloth; and when she came up this examine chided her, and her Grace answered "she could not do with all, for the Queen held her, while the Lord Admiral cut it."

Another time, at Chelsea, the Lady Elizabeth hearing the Privy lock undo, knowing that he would come in, ran out of her bed to her maidens, and then went behind the curtain of the bed, the maidens being there; and my Lord tarried to have her come out, she cannot tell how long. This examine heard of the gentlewomen; she thinks Mr. Power told it her. And then, in the gallery, this examine told my Lord that these things were complained of, and that my Lord

was evil spoken of. The Lord Admiral swore, "God's precious soul! he would tell my Lord Protector how it slandered him, and he would not leave it, for he meant no evil."

At Seymour Place, when the Queen lay there, he used for a while to come up every morning in his night gown, bare-legged, in his slippers, where he found commonly the Lady Elizabeth up at her book. And then he would look in at the gallery door, and bid my Lady Elizabeth good morrow, and so go his way. Then this examine told my Lord it was an unseemly sight to come so bare-legged to a maiden's chamber, with which he was angry, but he left it.

At Hanworth, the Queen told this examine that my Lord Admiral looked in at the gallery window, and saw my Lady Elizabeth cast her arms about a man's neck. The which hearing, this examine enquired about it of my Lady's Grace, who denied it weeping, and bade her ask all her women. They all denied it; and she knew it could not be so, for there came no man but Gryndall, the Lady Elizabeth's schoolmaster. Howbeit, thereby this examine did suspect that the Queen was jealous betwixt them, and did but feign this, to the intent that this examine should take more heed, and be, as it were, in watch betwixt her and my Lord Admiral. She saith, also, that Mr. Ashley, her husband, hath divers times given this examine warning to take heed, for he did fear that the Lady Elizabeth did bear some affection to my Lord Admiral. She seemed to be well pleased therewith, and sometimes she would blush when he were spoken of: and one other told her so also, but she cannot tell who it was.

(Signed) KATERYN ASCHYLY.

APPENDIX VI.

The Insanity of Margaret Boleyn.¹

Inquisicio indentať capť apud Castrum Cantebř in coť pđco vicesimo die Septembr Anno regni dñi Regis nunc Henr. Octavi dei grā Anglie & Franc' Regis fidei defens' dñi Hibñ & in terr' Supremi Capits Anglicane eccl'ie tricesimo primo coram Thoma Castell Ar' Escaetore dcí dñi Regis Coť pđci virtute Officij sui p'

¹ Escheators, Inquisitions, Camb. and Hunts., 30th and 31st Hen. VIII., now first printed.

sacrm Thome Smyth Joh'is Smyth Thome Baron Gilb'ti Smyth Ric'i Selby Henř Algood Thome Fyngge Joh'es Bridgeman Joh'is Collyge Robti Bous Thome Lavender Joh'es Amys Willm Blount Joh'is Blount Joh'is Curteys & Thome Cause Qui dic' sup sacř suũ qđ dña Margaret Bolleyn vidua nup ux' Willmi Bulleyn militis defunct' ac una filiaz & cohered' nup Comitis Ormundie fuit seisit in dnico suo ut de feod' de & in manijs de Fulbone Zowches Colvylys Manv's Sharlowe & Swavesey cũ suis ptiñ in dcõ Coñ Cantebř necnon de libã capella de Sharlow in eodm Coñ Et ultius ijđm Jur dicunt sup sacř suũ qđ pđca Margaret de manijs pđcis cũ suis ptiñ in forma pđcã seisit' existens circa vicesimũ diem Apr̃ Anno regni dcĩ dñi Regis nunc decimo ex diũs infirmitatibz & egretudinibz ei contingenũ lunatica frenatica insana & non compos mentis devenit et ad huc lunatica frenatica insana & non compos mentis existit. Ac eisđm infirmitatibz & egretudinibz a pđcõ vicesimo die April Anno decimo supđcõ usque diem capcõis hujus Inquis' lucida gaudet intervalla 't lucida est intervalla ac demens & non compos mentis nec sane memorie.² Ita qđ seip̃amaut mañia terr' sive teñ sua pđcã aut exiĩ & pfitua eođm aut bona seu Catall' sua regere & gubarnare minime valeat aut sufficit. Et ulĩus Juř pđci dic' sup sacř suũ est qđ pđcm mañiũ de Fulburne cũ ptiñ valet p annũ in oĩbž exiĩ ultra repris' lxxix^{li} xvij^s ij^d ob. dī q̃. Et qđ dcã mañia de Zowches Colvylys & Manv's valent p annũ in oĩbž exiĩ ultra repris' xx^{li} vj^s viij^d ac qđ đcm mañiu de Sharlow valet p annũ in oĩbž exit ultra repris' vij^{li} ac đcm mañiũ de Swavesey cũ ptiñ valet p Annũ in oĩbž exiĩ ultra repris' lxix^{li} vij^s iij^d ob. Et qđ dcã libã capella valet p annũ in oĩbž exiĩ ultra repris' xxvj^s viij^d. In cujus rei testimonium tñ pfať Escaetor qm Juř pđci huic Inquisicoñ indentať Sigilla sua apposuer' dať die Anno & loco sup^a dictĩ.

APPENDIX VII.

The Vile Speeches of Mr. Darrel.³

Roger Fawne's talke had with me uppon Christmas Day and St. Stephin's Day, being the xxvth and xxvjth of December, 1578.

Uppon Christmas Daye at night he and his brother in lawe and I came from evensong together, and by the waye as we went I used some talke of MR. DARRELL, marveling much what he ment having so

² This sentence seems corrupt, but is printed as written.

³ Lansdowne MS. No. 29, 5, now first printed.

fayre a living that he lived no quieter in his cowntrie, to which he aunswered that in trewth he was a marvaylous trowblesome man, and that he did not care what he did to be revenged of such as he had malice unto.

[It then proceeds about his evil speeches, and suggests that proceedings should be taken against Darrel for scandal against the Queen and nobility. It goes discursively into matters about females in the neighbourhood, and worse, but the details follow in a list. These are those which affect the Queen.]

Itm. he hard his master saye unto him in his studye, as at that tyme he was very familer with him, that the tyme was now almost come that long had byn loked for, that was that now they were readie to go together by the eares at the corte, which if it so came to passe (as he hoaped it wold) he sayd he wold be the first man himself that with his owne hande wold dispatche my L. Treasurer, and diverse oother vile wordes he hard his master at [that] tyme speak of the Qweene and of the Cownsell, as that her Grace was very unmete to gouverne, *and that she was a dronckard and a naughtie woman of her bodie, with such odious wordes as his eares did ake to here*, and the said Fawne mutch marvayled what he ment to speak this mutch unto him; This was spoken about that tyme he laye at Mr. Comptroller's, which he reconeth to be 4 or 5 yeres past or thereaboutes.

Itm. he sayde that John Pynnock sayde to him that when the Qweenes matie was at Wilton last his master rode thither, hoaping to have byn knighted as oothers were, and as he rode homewardes his master sayde unto him that the Qweene was once mynded to ryde a hunting, but after dynner she was so dronck that she could not ryde, and so mutch more talke he had at that tyme with the sayd Pynnock as touching her matie and cownsell.

APPENDIX VIII.

The Saying of Arthur Gunter.⁴

The saying of Arthur Gonter⁵ to George Cotton (and others) that er this my Lord Robert's wife is dead and she broke her necke, but it is

⁴ Hatfield MSS. 153, fo. 54, now first printed.

⁵ This is what Gunter was reported to have said,—W. R.

in a number of heads that the queen will marry him. If she do you shall see a great stour, for my lord is sure of the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord Rich, with divers others to be ready with the putting up of his finger, and then you shall see the White Horse bestir him, for my [lord] is of great power, but a man shall have [a] ruffian with a dag to dispatch him out of a shop.

APPENDIX IX.⁶

The Declaration of Arthur Gunter concerning Lord Robert Dudley.⁷

Pleaseth your Honours to understand that about three weeks since I chanced to be a hunting with divers Gentlemen, when I fell in talk with a Gentleman named Mr. George Cotton, who told me that it chanced the Queen's Highness to be at Supper on a time at my Lord Robert's house, where it chanced her Highness to be nighted homeward and as her Grace was going homeward by torch light, her Highness fell in talk with them that carried the torches, and said that her Grace would make their Lord the best that ever was of his name. Whereupon I said that her Grace must make him then a Duke, and he said that the Report was that her Highness should marry him, and I answered I pray God all be for the best and I pray God all men may take it well, that there might rise no trouble thereof, and so have I said to divers others since that time. And I most humbly beseech your Honours all to be good unto me and to pardon me herein if I have offended.

APPENDIX X.

Confession of Arthur Gunter concerning Lord Robert Dudley.⁸

Pleaseth your Honours farther to understand that the said Mr. George Cottone said that it was rumoured heretofore that my Lord my master should have married the Queen's Highness. And I said that if it pleased her Highness I thought him as meet a man as any

⁶ Hatfield MSS., 155, fo. 55, now first printed.

⁷ This is his version of the affair. ⁸ Hatfield MSS., now first printed.

in England. And farther he asked me if I heard of any Parliament toward ; and I said no, but if there were any I think every Nobleman will give his opinion, and then they that be my Lord's friends will say that he is a meet man, and the other that be none my Lord Robert's friends will say that he is not a meet man, and so it may fortune there will rise trouble among the Noblemen, which God forbid. And then he asked me who was "my Lord's friends." And I said my Lord Marquis of Northampton, my Lord of Pembroke, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Sacfield, with many others. Farther I said, "I trust the White Horse will be quiet, and so shall we be out of trouble, it is well known *his* blood, as yet, was never attaind, nor was *he* ever man of war, wherefore is it likely that we shall sit still, but if he should stomach it he were able to make a great power." All those things before rehearsed I have spoken unto divers others, as unto Mr. Robert Palmer, Mr. Stowton, Mr. Benyon, and others. Farther, as touching my Lord Robert, I have said to Mr. Cottone that I thought him to be the cause that my Lord and my master might not marry the Queen's Highness, wherefor I would that he had been put to death with his Father or that some Ruffian would have despatched him by the way as he hath gone with some dagger or gun. Farther, I said that if it chanced my Lord Robert to marry the Queen's Highness then I doubted whether he would remember any old matter passed heretofore and so be turned unto my Lord my master's displeasure and hindrance.

By me, Arthur Gounter.

APPENDIX XI.

The Submission of Gunter.⁹

In most humble and reverend manner I do from the bottom of my heart confess that the lewd and unfitting words uttered by me, for the which I have been most worthily punished, are such as I am very heartily sorry for, and shall with God's grace henceforth beware that the like shall never enter into my heart and much less pass my mouth, most humbly beseeching your Honour to be means for me to the Queen's Majesty for her Highness' pardon and remission of this my fault. And as I shall not fail to be a continual intercessor to

⁹ Hatfield MSS., now first printed.

Almighty God for the prosperous preservation of Her Majesty, so will I study by all the means I can to redub and recompense my former offence.

Your most humble and Obedient Orator,
Arthur Gounter.

To the Right Honourable Sir William
Cecil, Knight, the Queen's Majesty's
principal Secretary.

APPENDIX XII.

*Leicester's Commonwealth.*¹

The ability² of this book is shown by its popularity. It would be hard to say how many MSS. there still are of it.³ Its literary merit is very conspicuous, and the knowledge the anonymous writer had of the secret history of his times is very remarkable. It is generally ascribed to Father Parsons the Jesuit,⁴ but it has been suggested, and I think more probably, that it was written or prompted by no less a man than Cecil, Lord Burleigh, himself. That Cecil was no friend at heart of Dudley's is clear enough,⁵ how indeed could he have been of such a man.

¹ See *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1845.

² Sidney's attempted reply seems to me laboured, affected, and weak. From Froude, vi. pp. 452-3, it would seem he was ready to act as ambassador for his brother-in-law.

³ I know of the eight following in the Harl. MSS. only, viz.—405, 557, 2245, 2290, 4020, 4282, 6021 fo. 186, 7582.

There is a MS. of which there are two copies among the Cambridge University MSS. [D. d. ix. 14 and G. g. iii. 34], and another copy among the Ashmolean MSS. [829 pp. 1—296], which may have been the *nucleus* of *Leicester's Commonwealth*. The first of the Cambridge MSS. is entitled "A comunicacon or discours of the Queen's higness between fower gent: at Monthall in Essex, reported by Sir Tho. Smyth, knight, to his neybore Francis Wyat, gent: 1561, Primo Aprilis," and begins fo. 1, "As I was walking in my garden alone, Francis Wyat came unto me." Smyth was principal secretary to Elizabeth.

⁴ Life of, Wood's *Athenæ. Oxon.* ii. col. 361; Life of, by James, p. 55.

⁵ Cecil seems to have put forward Dudley to marry Mary of Scots; also to have stirred up the Earl of Sussex to quarrel with Leicester. See *Melville's Memoirs*, p. 72.

We know that in April, 1566, he analyzed Dudley's pretensions to be the Queen's husband, in words as bitter as any in the *Commonwealth*. We are told that "Camden's account of the Earl of Leicester discovers a malignity of disposition; it would be difficult to understand if he did not inform us his history was chiefly drawn up from memorials and records communicated by Burleigh," and it is very suggestive that the examinations of Appleyard, when the latter threatened to let out about the hushing up of Amy's murder, are not among the State Papers, but among Cecil's own papers at Hatfield, nor is it to be forgotten that Cecil told the Spanish Ambassador of the intended poisoning of Amy before it happened. It is noteworthy that *Leicester's Commonwealth*, p. 36, mentions the fact that Throgmorton had written home to the Queen that he had heard it reported at table that the Queen of England had a meaning to marry her Horsekeeper.⁶ As a matter of fact, the letter was written to Cecil, and who else could have communicated this information?

APPENDIX XIII.

The Purchase of Cumnor by Anthony Forster.⁷

Hec est finalis concordia facta in Cur' dñe Regine apud Westm' a die Pasche in quindecim dies Anno regni Elizabeth dei gra' Angl' Franc' & Hibern' Regine fidei defens' &c' a conqu' t'cio coram Jacobo Dyer, Humfro' Broun, Antonio Broun & Rici' Weston Justic' & alijs dñe Regine fidelibꝫ tunc ibi p'sentibꝫ. Int' Antoniu Forster Armig'u quer' et Will'm Owen genosu & Annam ux'em eius deforc' de Man'o de Cumner cu p'tin ac de quadraginta mesuagijs quatuor toftis, duobꝫ molendinis, sex columbarijs, quadraginta gardinis, quadraginta pomarijs, mille acris t're, ducentis acr' prati, centu acr' pasture, centu acr' bosci, centu acr' iampn' & bruere, centu acr' marisci, & centu solidat' reddit' cu p'tin in Cumner Beselsley Wightam Botley Hynxsey Strowdehill Wightam Abbas & Wightam Phillipps ac de hundro de Hormer alias Bagley hundred cum p'tin Neenon de Rcõria de Cumner ac advocacõe vicarie de Cumner p'dict' unde pl'itm' convencõis sum' fuit int' eos in eod'm Cur' Scilt qd pd'ci Will's & Anna recogn' p'dca man'u ten' reddit'

⁶ See letter from Throgmorton to Cecil, of 20th Oct., 1560.

⁷ Feet of Fines, Berks, Easter, 3rd Elizabeth, now first printed.

hundred & R'coriam cu' p̄tin ac advocacōem p̄dcām esse ius ip̄ius Antonij ut ill' que id'm Antonius h'et dono p̄dcoꝝ Will'i & Anne Et ill' remiser' & quiet clam' de ip̄is Will'o & Anna & hered suis p̄dc'o Antonio & hered suis Imppm Et p̄t'ea ijdm Will's & Anna concesser' p̄ se & hered' ip̄ius Will'i qd ipi Warant' p̄dc'o Antonio & hered' suis p̄dc'a man'u' ten' reddit' hundred' & R'oriam cu' p̄tin Ac Advocacōem p̄dcām cont' p̄dcos Will'm & Annam & hered' ip̄ius Will'i Imppm Et p̄ hac recogn' remissione quiet' clam' Warant' fine & concordia id'm Antonius concessit pd'cis Will'o & Anne quandam Annuitatem sive Annual reddit' quinquaginta triu' libraꝝ decem & octo solidos & septem denarioꝝ exeunt' de & in p̄dcis man'o & ten' cu' p̄tin Ac ill' eis reddidit in ead'm Cur' hend' & p̄cipiend' p̄dcam Annuitat' sive Annual reddit' quinquagint' triu' libraꝝ decem & octo solid' & septem denar' eisd'm Will'o & Anne & hered ip̄ius Will'i ad festa Annunciacōis bē Marie Virginis & Sc'i Michis Arch'i ad occident' hostiu' Eccl'ie Cathedris Sc'i Pauli London p̄ equales porcōes Annuatim solvend' Et si contingat p̄dcam Annuitat' sive Annual reddit' quinquaginta triu' libraꝝ decem & octo solidos & septem denar' aut aliquam inde p̄cell' aretro fore in pte vel in toto post aliquod festu' festoꝝ p̄dcoꝝ quo ut p̄fert' solvi debeat non solve p̄ spatii' sex septimanaꝝ qd tunc & totiens p̄d Antonius & hered' sui forisfac' quinq' solid' nōie pene & q'd tunc bene licebit p̄dcis Will'o & Anne & hered ip̄ius Will'i in p̄dca man'u' & ten' cu' p̄tin' & in quamlib't inde p̄cell' intrare & distringere & districtoes q' sic ibm capt' & hic licete abducere asportare & effugare ac penes se retinere quousq' tam de p̄dca Annuitate sive Annual' reddit' quinquaginta triu' libraꝝ decem & octo solid' & septem denar' qm p̄ p'd quinq' solid' nōie pene ut p̄ fertur forisf'cis cu' arreragiis ejusdem si que fuerunt fuit satisf'c'm & psolut'

APPENDIX XIV.

The Death of Hervey.⁸

After, etc. Whereas her Ma^t is geven to understande that ther are certen that meant to bee in hande w^t your L. for the offyee of the Marshalship of the R^p. Benche, lately faulen voyde by the

⁸ State Papers, Dom., Elizabeth, vol. 105, No. 75. Leicester to Earl of Shrewsbury, now first printed.

deathe of M^r Varney for y^t y^t is supposed to be in your L. gyfte: her plesur is y^t wee should sygnefye unto you that as heretofore she hathe dysposed thereof (as in the late D. time your p^rdecessor) so she hathe her hyenies bestowed the same at this p^rsent: and therto hathe willed us earnestly to require your L. to forbear to make any graunt of the same, to avoyde therby the contentyon that otherwyse may follow thereof.

APPENDIX XV.

The Queen's Gifts and Grants to Leicester.⁹

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1 Eliz. | 1. Grant of office of Master of the Horse (11 Jan., 1559).—Pat., 1 Eliz., 4th part. |
| | 2. Grant in remainder (after Sir Ambrose Dudley and his heirs male) of manor of Kybworth Beachampe, &c.—Orig., 1 Eliz., 1st part, rot 122. |
| | 3. A capital messuage in Kew in the parishes of East Sheen and Mortlake.—Orig., 1 Eliz., 3rd part, rot 96. |
| 2 Eliz. | 4. The site of the monastery of Watton in the County of York.—Pat., 2 Eliz., 3rd part; Orig., 2 Eliz., 2nd part. |
| | 5. A license to export wool.—Id., 4th part. |
| | 6. The Lieutenancy of the Castle and Forest of Windsor for life.—Id., 5th part. |
| 3 Eliz. | 7. The site of the late monastery of Molsay, otherwise Meux, in the County of York.—Pat., 3 Eliz., 11th part. |
| 4 Eliz. | 8. An annuity of £1000 to be payable out of tonnage and poundage until the Queen shall give him and his heirs lands of equal value.—Orig., 4 Eliz., 2nd part, rot 43; Pat., 4 Eliz., 7th part. |
| | 9. License to export 19,000 cloths "unrowed."—Pat., 4 Eliz., 2nd part. |
| | 10. License to export all manner of woollen cloth "unrowed" to the number of 20,000.—Id. |
| | 11. License to export woollen cloth.—Id. (3 July.) |

⁹ Now first collected and printed.

- 4 Eliz. 12. License to buy and export 1000 "serpleis" of wool.—Id., 3rd part.
13. All the real and personal property of Sir Andrew Dudley, attainted in 1553.—Id., 5th part.
14. The office of Constable of the Castle of Windsor.—Id.
- 5 Eliz. 15. The Manor and Lordship and Castle of Kenilworth, the Lordship and Castle of Denbigh, and lands, &c., in the Counties of Lancashire, Surrey, Rutland, Denbigh, Carmarthen, York, Cardigan, Brecknock.—Pat., 5 Eliz., 4th part; Orig., 5 Eliz., 3rd part, rot 132.
- 6 Eliz. 16. The manor of Caldecote in the County of Bedford, and the manor of Pelynge in the parish of Marston in the same County and other lands there, and in the County and City of York.—Pat., 6 Eliz., 7th part.
17. Grant to be Baron of Denbigh.—Id., 12th part; Orig., 6 Eliz., 2nd part.
18. The like to be Earl of Leicester.—Id.
19. Certain parcels of land called Burton Field in the Sherefhutton in York, and other lands in the Counties of York, Beds, Essex, Kent, York.—Orig., 6 Eliz., 1st part, rot 107.
- 7 Eliz. 20. License to "retain" one hundred persons.—Pat., 7 Eliz., 2nd part.
21. The manor, park, and farm of Rudson in the County of Warwick.—Pat., 7 Eliz., 9th part; Orig., 7 Eliz., 2nd part.
22. The reversion of the manor and advowson of Hemmesby, Norfolk.—Id., 10th part; Orig., 7 Eliz., 1st part, rot 61.
23. The office of Chancellor of the County Palatine of Chester.—Pat., 7 Eliz., 9th part.
- 8 Eliz. 24. License for twenty years to export all manner of wood and timber growing in the County of Salop.—Pat., 8 Eliz., 8th part.
25. The reversion of the manor of Balsall in the Counties of Worcester and Warwick, and of the manor of Bridbrooke, al's Hampton on the Hill, and of the manors of Hampton Magna and Parva, of Bretsarton (Worcestershire), of Ewyns Lacye (Hereford),

of Marston al's Dry Merston (Gloucester), of Buckland's manor in Marnehull (the same), of Weston (Somerset), of lands and tenements in Bothenhampton (Dorset), the Grange called Gyletement in Lyme Regis (Dorset), the manor of Holton (Denbigh), the lordship and manor of Bronles (Brecon), the manor of Hoddesdon (Herts), the manor of Iworthe (Bedford), the rectory of Haveringland (Norf.), and messuages in Holbeach (Lincolnshire).—Orig., 8 Eliz., 1st part, rot 56; Pat., 8 Eliz., 7th part.

- 10 Eliz. 26. The manor and advowson of Middlefowey (Somerset).—Pat., 10 Eliz., 4th part.
27. The reversion of the manor of Myddlesbury.—Orig., 10 Eliz., rot 241.
28. Grant of £1303. 2s. 1d. for the surplus value of trees, wood, and underwood on certain manors exchanged by him with the Queen.—Issue Rolls, Easter, 10 Eliz.
- 11 Eliz. Nil.
- 12 Eliz. Nil.
- 13 Eliz. 29. Lease of Bewaley Mill for 21 years at £10. 0s. 8d.—Orig., 13 Eliz., 1st part, rot 56; Pat., id., 4th part.
- 14 Eliz. 30. The custody (wardship) of Charles Butler.
31. A lease of the forest and park of South Frith in Keven [Merioneth] for 50 years.—Pat., 14 Eliz., 6th part; Orig., 14 Eliz., 2nd part, rot. 79.
32. Reversion of the manor of Burton (Leicester).—Pat., 14 Eliz., 9th part; Orig., 14 Eliz., 1st part, rot 144.
33. The custody (wardship) of Thos. Curson.—Pat., 14 Eliz., 9th part.
34. The reversion of the manor of Honeley (Warwick).—Pat., 14 Eliz., 9th part.
35. The reversion of the rectory of Kenilworth and lands in Pembroke, Montgomery, and Middlesex.—Pat., 14 Eliz., 11th part; Orig., 14 Eliz., 3rd part.
36. The office of Chief Steward of the Honour of Grafton (Northampton) for life. Pat., 14 Eliz., 12th part; Orig., 14 Eliz., 2nd part, rot 105.
- 15 Eliz. 37. Lease of lands, &c., parcel of the manor of Beawdley, for 21 years at £6. 13s. 0½d.—Pat., 15 Eliz., 13th part; Orig., 15 Eliz., 5th part, rot 7.

- 15 Eliz. 38. The manor and borough of Watton under Edge.—Orig., 15 Eliz., 3rd part, rot 11.
- 16 Eliz. 39. The manor of Chewe (^p) (Somerset) and lands in *twenty-six* other counties!—Pat., 16 Eliz., 1st part.
40. The reversion of the capital messuage called the Old Palace in Maidstone (Kent).—Pat., 16 Eliz., 8th part; Orig., 16 Eliz., 4th part.
41. The custody (wardship) of Robert Wilkes.—Pat., 16 Eliz., 11th part.
42. Lands and tenements in Pull and Pullcourte (Worcester).—Orig., 16 Eliz., 1st part.
- 17 Eliz. 43. An annuity of £1000 for life.—Pat., 17 Eliz., 12th part [see 4 Eliz.]
- 18 Eliz. 44. Three parcels of land in Dyntley (Carnarvon), and in Festyniock, and elsewhere in Merioneth.—Pat., 18 Eliz., 2nd part; Orig., 18 Eliz., 1st part, rot 87.
45. Grant for ten years of all fines and sums of money for alienating lands in capite and alienating lands without license, &c.—Pat., 18 Eliz., 3rd part; Orig., 18 Eliz., 1st part, rot 70.
46. Lease of lands within the lordship of Grafton for twenty-one years, at £42. 12s. 11d.—Pat., 18 Eliz., 13th part; Orig., 18 Eliz., 1st part, rot 24.
47. Grant of a weekly market on Wednesdays, and a three-day fair and piepowder court at Kenilworth.—Orig., 18 Eliz., 5th part, rot 21; Pat., 18 Eliz., 6th part
- 19 Eliz. 48. Lands in “Le Frith” and in Keven Bodkesketh, within the town of Festynyock (Merioneth), &c.—Pat., 19 Eliz., 7th part; Orig., *id.*, 3rd part.
- 20 Eliz. 49. A parcel of land within the “Commota” (Half Hundred ?) of Ardudwy (Merioneth), and land in Carnarvon, &c.—Orig., 20 Eliz., 1st part; Pat., 20 Eliz., 11th part.
50. The office of Chancellor and Chamberlain of Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Merionethshire for life.
51. The custody (wardship) and marriage of Francis and Margaret Wilkes.—Pat., 20 Eliz., 6th part.
52. The custody (wardship) and marriage of Richard, son and heir of Thos. Wenman.—*Id.*
- 21 Eliz. 53. The custody (wardship) and marriage of Richard Verney.—Pat., 21 Eliz., 8th part.

- 21 Eliz. 54. The custody (wardship) and marriage of Wm. Lovelace.—Pat., 21 Eliz., 11th part.
55. Lease of Woodgrange manor (Essex) for 71 years at £13. 11s. 0d.—Pat., 21 Eliz., 4th part; Orig., id., 1st part, rot 42.
- 22 Eliz. 56. The custody of the New Forest for life.—Pat., 22 Eliz., 1st part.
- 23 Eliz. 57. The lordship and manors of Hampton Magna and Parva (Worcester.)—Pat., 23 Eliz., 3rd part; Orig., 23 Eliz., 5th part.
58. Lease of lands in Graston (Northn.) for 21 years.—Id., 7th part.
59. Messuage and lands called “Comydulis,” in Naunwhynan (? Carnarvon.)—Orig., 23 Eliz., 5th part.
- 24 Eliz. 60. Acquittance of £15000 paid into the Exchequer for the Queen’s use.—Pat. 24 Eliz., 5th part; Orig., 24 Eliz. 3rd part, rot 100.
61. Joint grant (with Wm. Cecil, Ld. Burghley) of manor of Staunton Quynnton (Wilts) and lands in eleven other counties.—Orig., 24 Eliz., 3rd part; Pat., 24 Eliz., 13th part.
62. Ditto, ditto, of the reversion of various lordships and manors in Norfolk late of Gregory, Lord Dacre.—Pat., 24 Eliz., 13th part; Orig., 24th Eliz., 3rd part.
63. Joint grant (with John Morley, Esq.) of mill called Heldmyll, in Brecknock, and lands in nine counties.—Pat., 24 Eliz., 3rd part; Orig., 24 Eliz., 1st part.
- 26 Eliz. 64. Lease of wood and underwood in the forest of Wyer (Worcester) for 21 years.—Pat., 26 Eliz., 2nd part; Orig., id., rot 82, 3rd part.
65. Castle and lordship of Denbigh.—Id., 3rd part; Orig., id., 4th part, rot 180.
- 27 Eliz. 66. Appointment as Captain General in Holland and Zealand, with license to levy 50 men.—Id. [2 Oct.]
67. Appointment as Locum Tenens, Leader and General of all the Army of the United Provinces in Belgium.—Pat., 27 Eliz., 2nd part. [22 Oct.]
68. Joint grant with Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, of the manor of Erlingham (Gloucester.)—Pat., 27 Eliz., 11th part, and (?) Orig., id., 6th part.

- 28 Eliz. 69. Appointment as Lieutenant in the Low Countries.—Pat., 28 Eliz., 11th part.
- 29 Eliz. 70. Demesne lands within the manor of Grafton (Northn.) and the manor of Great Soukye (Lanc.) for thirty-one years in reversion.—Pat., 29 Eliz., 5th part.
71. Lease of demesne and other lands in Grafton for thirty years [? same as last.].—Orig., 29 Eliz., 3rd part.
72. Authority to grant protections and warrant to Chancellor to put the Great Seal to them.—Pat., 29 Eliz., 15th part.
73. Grant of the “King’s and Queen’s Fines” [for license to alienate] for three years.—Pat., 29 Eliz., 7th part; Orig., 29 Eliz., 3rd part, rot 7.
- 30 Eliz. 74. Grant (on his petition) to the Grammar School of Tamworth.—Pat., 30 Eliz., 4th part.

Licenses to Assign and Pardons for Assigning without License.

- 5 Eliz. Lagrame Park in Bolham to Sir Richard Shurborne.—Orig., 5th part, rot 2.
- 6 Eliz. Manor of Halsted and rectory of Tylton (Warwick) to Christr. Tamworthe.—Pat., 6th part, 9th part; Orig. do., 3rd part.
- Manor of Hacknes (York) to Sir John Constable.—Id. and Orig., 3rd part.
- 7 Eliz. The “Lay” of Teddisley (Staff.) to Richd. Hunt and others.—Pat., 8th part.
- Manor of Hemmesby (Norf.) to Sir Tho. Gresham.—Pat., 6th part.
- 8 Eliz. Lordship of Weston (Somerset) to Sir Tho. Gresham.—Pat., 5th part.
- 9 Eliz. General power to alienate any of his lands for 8 years.—Orig., 9th Eliz., 3rd part, rot 51.
- Joint license (with Ambrose, Earl of Warwick), messuage, &c., in Halderwase, within the forest of Cannock (Staff.) to Walter Gryffyth, Esq.—Orig., 1st part, rot 50.
- Demesne lands of Denbigh.—Pat., 11th part.
- 10 Eliz. Joint license (with Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and Anne his wife), manor of Claverden, als. Clareden, to Sir John Spencer.—Orig., 1st part, rot 160.

- 10 Eliz. Manor of Buckelande to Thos., Lord Howard, Vicecomes
(?) Bynden.—Orig., 1st part, rot 163.
- 12 Eliz. Manors of Weston and Middlesoweye to Edward Dyer,
Esq.—Orig., 3rd part, rot 140; Pat., 9th part.
Lordship of Chircke and Chirklande (Denbigh).—Pat.,
1st part.
- 14 Eliz. Manor of Arnsley and Cairlocke (Montgomery.)
- 16 Eliz. Demesne lands of Tytenhull (Somerset) to John Levyson
and Henry Gilberd.—Orig., 3rd part; Pat., 5th part.
Manor of Comnor (Berks.) to Henry, Lord Norreis.—Pat.,
13th part; Orig., 1st part, rot 80.
- 18 Eliz. Manor of Atherston to John Turner.—Orig., 5th part, rot 179.
Lordships of Arnestelley, Caveliocke, Denbigh, and Chirke.
—Pat., 1st part.
- 20 Eliz. Manor of Marston (Gloucester) to John Kecke and
others.—Pat., 8th part; Orig., 3rd part, rot 177.
- 21 Eliz. Joint license (with Wm., Lord Burleigh) of lordships and
manors of Horborne and Smethwike (Staff. and
Worcester.)
- 22 Eliz. Manor of Wansted (Essex) to Thos. Skynner.—Pat., 12th
part; Orig., 4th part, rot 150.
- 23 Eliz. "The Charterhall" *vel* "Cherthoun," Coventry, to Thos.
Andrewes.—Orig., 3rd part, rot 77; Pat., 5th part.
Manors of Wansted and Stonhal to Sir John Hubardes.—
Pat., 10th part.
Manor of Gravesend to Sir Tho. Gawdy.—Pat., 3rd part;
Orig., 3rd part.
Joint license (with John Morley, Esq.) to alienate messuage
called Comyduly in Nanntiwyhnan (Carnarvon) and 17
other counties.
- 24 Eliz. Manor of Adeston super Tower (Warwick) to John
Lydcott.—Pat., 2nd part.
- 26 Eliz. Manor of Scraptofte (Leicester) to John Colborne, Esq.—
Orig., 2nd part, rot 19.
Manor of Budbrook (Warwick) to Sir Gilbert Gerrard.—
Orig., 5th part, rot 31.
- 28 Eliz. Manor of Rayhouse (Essex) to Horatio Palavacini.—Orig.,
3rd part, rot 132.
- 30 Eliz. Various manors, &c., in Warwick, settled by him on Lady
Lettice his wife, for life.—Orig., 2nd part, rot 39;
Pat., 13th part.

- 33 Eliz. Manor of Yarcomb (Devon) to Richd. Drake.—Pat., 8th part; Orig., 2nd part.
- 42 Eliz. Castle of Kenilworth to Alexr. Ratclyffe and others.—Orig., 3rd part, rot 144.
Castle of Kenilworth, &c., to Robert Dudley, Esq.—Orig., 3rd part, rot 177.
License to leave the castle of Kenilworth to divers uses.—Pat., 31st part.¹

Licenses to Purchase.

- 11 Eliz. Site of the Prior of the Carthusians next Coventry. Orig., 3rd part, rot 159.
- 14 Eliz. Manor of Ichington (Warwick) from Sir John Throgmorton and others.—Orig., 1st part, rot 67; Pat., 8th part.
Manor of Balsall from Edwd., Lord Dudley.—Pat., 10th part.
- 20 Eliz. Manor of Wanstead, and lands in Wanstead, Woodford, Walthamstow, Leyton, and Ilford (Essex) from Sir Robt. Riche.—Pat., 5th part; Orig., 2nd part, rot 6.
- 23 Eliz. Manor of Stonehall from Arthur Breame, Esq.—Pat., 5th part; Orig., 5th part, rot 148.
Manor of Honyley (Warwick) from Fras. Throckmorton and others.—Pat., 10th part.
- 24 Eliz. Manor of Northley [Northeye], (Gloucester) from Richd. Byrd and Thos. Cocks.—Pat., 9th part; Orig., 5th part, rot 111.
Manor of Aderston, &c., from John Lydcote.—Orig., 2nd part.
- 25 Eliz. Manor of Wanstead and Stonehall (Essex) from Thos. Skynner, Esq., and Blanche his wife.—Pat., 6th and 11th parts; Orig., 2nd part, rot 167, and 6th part, rot 25.

¹ This was the last license to Leicester. It is singular however, as showing that Elizabeth was not so vindictive against his widow Lettice, to note that she granted her two beneficial leases, one of premises, part of the manor of Stutington (Warwick), and the other of the site of the Priory of Albecote, &c. (Warwick and Stafford), for twenty-one years.—Orig., 43rd Elizabeth, 1st part, rot 18 and 102.

- 26 Eliz. Manor of Scraftofte (Leicester) from John Colborne.—
Pat., 7th part.
Manor of Budbrooke (Warwick) from Sir G. Gerrard.—
Pat., 14th part.
- 28 Eliz. Manor of Aldersbrooke (Essex) from Nich. Fuller.—Pat.,
11th part; Orig., 1st part, rot 164.
Manor of Cranbrooke (Essex) from—Orig., 1st
part.
Ten messuages in Wanstead from—Orig., 1st part
The farm of the “Queen’s money” for license to alienate
from Thos. Dudley and Robt. Wrott.—Orig., 4th part.
- 36 Eliz. *Manor and rectory of Comner* from *Richd. Foster*.—Pat.,
18th part; Orig., 2nd part, rot 209.
Manor of Comner from *Anthony Foster*.—Orig., 2nd part,
rot 213.
- 37 Eliz. Manor of Long Itchington (Warwick) from Anthony
Ludford and Thos. Fyssher.—Pat., 1st part; Orig.,
4th part, rot 142.
Manor of Ernewood (Shrops.) from Thos. Duddeley and
Richd. Sutton.—Orig., 4th part, rot 150.
- 40 Eliz. Manor of Balsall (Warwick and Worcester) from Edwd.
Sutton, Baron of Dudley.

Deeds to which Leicester was a party, from the Close Roll.

- 6 Eliz., part 3. John Dudley and Leicester.
- 11 „ „ 3. Leicester and Thomas, Viscount Byndon.
„ „ 8. Leicester and Richard Over (?)
„ „ 9. Leicester and Thomas Gresham.
„ „ 24. Leicester and John Dudley.
- 12 „ „ 6. Leicester and John Dudley.
„ „ 6. Leicester and James Bedell.
„ „ 6. Leicester and Thomas, Lord Pagett.
- 14 „ „ 5. Leicester and John Lydcott.
„ „ 16. Leicester and Sir Roger Marten.
„ „ 16. Leicester and Edward, Lord Dudley.
„ „ 25. Leicester and Sir John Throckmerton and others.
- 15 „ „ 22. Leicester and Richard Foster.
„ „ 29. Leicester and Edmund Dockwray.
- 16 „ „ 1. Leicester and Christopher Fenton.
- 17 „ „ 16. Leicester and John Dudley and others.

20	Eliz., part 4.	Leicester and Robert, Lord Riche.
21	„ „ 5.	Leicester and Richard Paramoure.
	„ „ 10.	Leicester and Robert, Lord Riche.
22	„ „ 3.	Leicester and Richard Staneley.
	„ „ 12.	Leicester and Thomas, Lord Buckhurst.
23	„ „ 5.	Leicester and Francis Throckmarton.
	„ „ 16.	Leicester and John Morley.
24	„ „ 3.	William, Lord Burleigh, Sir Edward Sutton, and Lord Dudley on the one part, and Leicester of the second part, Sir James Herrington of the third part, and Sir Gilbert Gerrard of the fourth part.
	„ „ 4.	Leicester and Edmund Downinge and others.
	„ „ 7.	Leicester and Thomas Skinner.
	„ „ 22.	“Scriptum factum Rob't Comiti Leic' p d'nam Reginam.”
25	„ „ 12.	Leicester and Edmund Downinge and others.
	„ „ 17.	Leicester and John Duncombe.
	„ „ 20.	Leicester and Thomas Skynner.
26	„ „ 3.	Leicester and Edward Barkar and others.
	„ „ 4.	Leicester and Thomas Skynner.
	„ „ 17.	Leicester and Thomas Skynner.
	„ „ 19.	Leicester and Edward Barker.
27	„ „ 13.	Leicester and William Skarre.
	„ „ 20.	Leicester and Theophilus Adams and others.
28	„ „ 13.	Leicester and Thomas Dudley and others.
30	„ „ 14.	Leicester and Edmund Downinge and others.
	„ „ 16.	Leicester and Sir Henry Vukon (?)
	„ „ 17.	Leicester and William Hill.
	„ „ 17.	Leicester and William Walshe.

Recognizances from the Close Roll.

2	Eliz., part 13.	To John Littleton	£4
3	„ „ 16.	Sir Thomas Gresham	£2000
	„ „ 2.	Sir Henry Sidney	£600
	„ „ 2.	John Tamworth	£800
4	„ „ 12.	James Altham	£80
5	„ „ 3.	John Longe	£4000
8	„ „ 13.	The Queen	£2000
	„ „ 14.	Ditto	£500

2 Eliz., part 16.	Roland Hayward	£2500
9 „ „ 8.	John Tamworth and others	£20,000
10 „ „ 19.	Thomas Howarde	£10,000
12 „ „ 22.	Edward Carye	£600
14 „ „ 3.	Roland Heiward	£2000
15 „ „ 3.	The Queen, 1500 marks	£1000
„ „ 3.	Ditto, 1000 marks	£666 13s. 4d.
„ „ 8.	John Rywas, 2000 marks	£1333 6s. 8d.
„ „ 22.	John Blount and others	£400
16 „ „ 30.	The Queen	£10,000
20 „ „ 19.	Edward Brockett	£200
21 „ „ 20.	Richard Paramour	£8000
„ „ 20.	Ditto	£2000
22 „ „ 22.	The Queen	£1000
23 „ „ 23.	Thomas Stapleton	£200
„ „ 24.	The Queen	£4000

APPENDIX XVI.

The Queen's Gifts to Hatton.²

- 10 Eliz. Farm of the manor of Holdenby, Northampton, for forty years.—Pat., 10 Eliz., 2nd part, 221 d.
Office of Keeper of Eltham Park, Kent, and Keeper of the New Park of Horne for life.—Id., 6th part, 229 d.
Site of monastery of Sulby, Northampton.—Id., 7th part, 230 d.
- 11 Eliz. Free chapel of Moncketon (Pembroke) for twenty-one years.—Pat., 11 Eliz., 5th part, 249 d.
- 12 Eliz. Reversion of Office of Queen's Remembrancer of Exchequer.—Pat., 2nd part, 259.
Reversion of site of Monastery of Sulby.—Id., 3rd part, 260.
- 13 Eliz. The inn called the "Shipp," in the parish of St. Clement's next Temple Bar, for 30 years.—Pat., 13 Eliz., 3rd part, 275 d.
The written obligation (bond ?) of Nichs. Beaumont, an outlaw.—Id., 4th part, 277.

² Now first collected and printed.

- 13 Eliz. The custody (wardship) of Wm. Underhill.—Id., 277 d.
A third of the manor of Beeston (York) for twenty-one years.—Id., 7th part, 281.
Reversion of the manor of Holdenby (Northampton.)—Id., 10th part, 284.
Manor of Sturmyster Newton Castell (Dorset) for thirty years.—Id., 10th part, 284.
- 14 Eliz. Reversion of office of Queen's Remembrancer of Exchequer.—14 Eliz., 1st part, 288.
Lease of wood and underwood, called the Hays Wood, in the old forest of La Hays (Hereford) for twenty-one years.—Pat., 4th part, 295 d.
Stewardship of the manor of Wendlingborough (Northampton) for life.—Id., 8th part, 295 d.
The custody (wardship) of Eliz. and Margt. Keble.—Id., 10th part, 30 d.
Reversion of manor of Frampton (Dorset.)—Id., fo. 104.
The site of the monastery of Blessed Mary in the Fields (Leicester.)—Id.
- 15 Eliz. Rectory of Buckbey, otherwise Long Buckbey (Northampton), for sixty years.—Pat., 11th part, 318 d.
- 17 Eliz. Cottage called Shepparde's Cote in Somerset, and other lands in Suff., Gloucester, Dorset, and Hereford.—Pat., 7th part, 15.
Farm of lordship and manor of Chappell Brampton (Northampton.)—Id., 13th part, 22 d.
- 18 Eliz. An annuity of £400 for his life.—Pat., 1st part, 2.
Divers manors in Huntingdon, Cambridge, Salop, Somerset, Dorset, &c.—Id., 13th part, 26.
Castle, lordship, or manor of Corffe (Dorset.)—Pat., 14th part, 26 d.
- 19 Eliz. The house and site of the late priory of Breamore (Southampton) and other lands, &c.—Pat., 8th part, 43 d.
Office of Keeper of the Park of Molton (Northampton.)—Id., 44.
- 20 Eliz. The palace and house of the Bishop of Ely, commonly called Ely Place, in Holborne.—Pat., 2nd part, 2.
License to empark 270 acres in Holdenby, Church Brampton, and Chappell Brampton (Northampton.)—Id.
The custody (wardship) and marriage of John Cullyford.—Id., 6th part, 14 d.

- 21 Eliz. Advowsons of churches of Stokebrewerne, Bliseworth, Cottingham, and Billinge Magna (Northampton).—Pat., 2nd part, fo. 6.

Manor of Brymmer Courtney (Southampton) and rectory of Cleve Ep'i and chapel of Stoke Archard (Gloucester), vicarage of Payneswel, and license to empark and have free warren in manor of Brymmer Courtney.—Id., 4th part, 10.

The portion of tithes known as "Radingden Tythes" (Rottingdean ?) in Brightelmerton (Sussex), and properties in fourteen other counties.—Id., 11th part, 26.

- 22 Eliz. Pleasance Manor (Kent) for life.—Pat., 1st part, 3.

Recognizances from the Close Roll.

10 Eliz., part 5.	To the Queen		£500
„ „ 5.	Ditto		£4000
13 „ „ 3.	Simon Love		£660
„ „ 6.	Edward Curey (Carey?) and others		£1000
„ „ 19.	Sir Henry Lee		£1000
„ „ 26.	Richard Marten		£2000
15 „ „ 23.	Sir John Spencer		£1000
16 „ „ 23.	George Stoddard		£1000
18 „ „ 18.	John Stafford		£600
„ „ 18.	Ditto		£1200
„ „ 18.	Ditto		£1200
„ „ 19.	William Saunders		£1000
„ „ 21.	The Queen		£3000
19 „ „ 17.	Edward Hungeford		£1000
„ „ 18.	Peter Gray		£3000
„ „ 18.	John Mabbe, jnu.		£500
„ „ 19.	Richard Bourne		£4000
„ „ 21.	The Queen		£1000
20 „ „ 22.	William Dixon		£300
23 „ „ 20.	William Dodington		£6000
„ „ 21.	Hugh Hare		£820
„ „ 21.	Ditto		£410
„ „ 23.	Edward Unton		£6000
„ „ 23.	Hugh Hare		£800

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